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Beirut Car Bomb Blast Kills 80

Lebanese government and Shi'ite community leaders blamed Israel for the March 8 car bomb explosion in Beirut's Shi'ite suburb of al-Abd. Eighty Lebanese died and 250 were injured in the worst carnage since the explosion at the US Marine headquarters in October of 1983. Shi'ite spiritual leader Mohammed Fadlallah is believed to have been the target of the attack. He escaped injury, however, and later vowed revenge.

A car loaded with some 200 kilograms of dynamite exploded 100 metres from Fadlallah's home. The bomb demolished a six-storey apartment building and several vehicles in addition to causing major fires. Victims were either buried under the debris, burned in their cars, or hit by flying metal and rocks. The explosion left a hole three metres deep and five metres long. This is the second attack on Shi'ite neighbourhoods in Beirut in a month. A car bomb killed five and injured 44 in the same neighbourhood February 28. Israel was also blamed for that blast.

Lebanese officials point the cusing finger at Israeli intelligence agents suspected of taking advantage of chaotic conditions in Beirut to murder Shi'ite leaders

whom Israel believes are connected to the resistance in south Lebanon. Lebanese Minister of Education and prominent Sunni leader Salim Hoss said he had no doubt that "Israel was behind this ugly crime." The ex-prime minister added that Israel, who daily "commits crimes in south Lebanon — destroying houses and places of worship over inhabitants — would not hesitate to implement a deadly operation of this sort in Beirut." He was referring to the March 3 bomb that demolished a mosque while worshippers were inside in the south Lebanese village of Ma'arakha killing 12 and injuring 34.

Unconfirmed reports from Voice of Lebanon Radio said March 9 that Amal militiamen had arrested a suspect in connection with the March 8 car bombing. The radio report claimed the man is a collaborator with Israeli intelligence.

At the funerals of those killed by the blast, angry demonstrators marched through the streets shaking their fists and chanting anti-Israeli slogans. The bodies of the victims were draped in white and carried to the Rawdat al-Shahada cemetery

continued on page 2



"Made in USA": Mourners and search parties carry off the bodies after a 200-kilogramme bomb wrecked Bir al-Abd quarter in West Beirut.

BZU Closed: University Officials Deny Military Claims

The Israeli occupation authorities closed the new, main campus of Bir Zeit University for two months March 8, one week after conducting a midnight raid on the premises. The order, signed by General Ori Orr, gave no specific reasons for the closure but Israeli officials told journalists that it was a response to inflammatory material seized by soldiers which was to be shown in a student exhibit. University officials vehemently denied that any official university publication was seized and charged that "the March 2 raid on the university's two campuses was not for reasons of security and that the method of search was illegal since no university official accompanied the soldiers when they carried out their raid."

The Israeli order bars students and faculty from entering three out of the four colleges of the university and will directly affect 60 percent of the 2400 student body. The faculties of engineering, science, commerce and economics are housed entirely on the new campus. Science and engineering labs and the Centre of Environmental Health

and Occupational Safety are now inaccessible to Bir Zeit students and researchers. The university's main computer, all administrative offices, registration, accounting, personnel, public relations, bookstores and services are similarly affected.

Bir Zeit University issued a press release March 8 calling the closure "the most transparent and premeditated attempt by the military authorities to damage, and perhaps destroy, the ability of Bir Zeit University to function."

Bir Zeit University officials, advocates and the Israeli Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit called upon the local and international public to help the university "vigorously protest the closure of the university and work to protect it against further measures."

The call was made at a press conference held March 12 at the American Colony Hotel in East Jerusalem headed by the university's acting head Gabi Baramki, university spokesperson Albert Aghazian, advocate Raja Shehadeh and Israeli professor Stan Cohen.

Baramki told journalists that the closure order was "orchestrated with a media blitz in order to discredit the university in the eyes of the general public." Baramki said that this tough closure of the university was a clear act of collective punishment. "Would the authorities have closed Hebrew University if they discovered illegal material on the campus?" he asked rhetorically.

Professor Stan Cohen of Hebrew University, speaking on behalf of the Bir Zeit Solidarity Committee, called the closure "part of a campaign to discredit the academic nature of the university." Cohen expressed solidarity with Bir Zeit professors and called on Israeli academics to stand up for academic freedom for all. Cohen also demanded that Israeli authorities immediately open the university.

Raja Shehadeh, lawyer for BZU and co-director of Law in the Service of Man, told reporters that the closure order effectively treats an academic institution in the same manner as it treats a shop. Shehadeh said that the university cannot be held re-

sponsible for material that is not officially sponsored by the university. He called the action taken against the entire university for material found in the personal possession of students or faculty a "collective punishment."

Israeli newspapers have sensationally described materials allegedly found on the campus. The two wide-circulation dailies *Yediot Aharanot* and *Ma'ariv* said that materials found on campus explained how to make a Molotov cocktail and "called for the death of Jews."

Students and faculty strongly denied these reports. Student body President Marwan Barghouti, in an article published in the Arabic daily *Al Fajr* March 8, denied any responsibility of the student council for materials seized. "The forgery of the Israeli publicity that claims

that the army found slogans calling for the killing of Jews was exposed when the first group to protest the university closure came from Jewish professors," he wrote.

The Union of Teachers and Employees of Universities and Private Institutions published a statement March 11 appealing to "members of the international community to protest the severe measures taken against Bir Zeit University." The statement said that the closure is aimed "at crippling academic life and stifling political expression in Palestinian universities."

Baramki also sent a telegram March 10 to Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin calling for the "immediate rescinding of the order" which he described as a "blatant violation of human and academic rights."

IN THIS ISSUE

Lebanese Resistance	
Blasts Up Military Convoy	p.2
Local Women's Groups Celebrate March 8	p.3
Asaph Prisoners' Strike in 3rd Week	p.4
West Bank Women Overcoming Obstacles	pp.7-10
Interview With Fehd Gannam	pp.8-9
Image of Women in Palestinian Culture	p.11
Palestinian History of Women's Struggle	p.16

Lebanese Resistance Kill 12 and Injure 14

Israeli troops massacred more than 40 Lebanese civilians and militiamen March 11 in the southern village of Zrariyeh, northeast of Tyre. The action was in revenge for a suicide car bomb attack one day earlier in which 12 Israeli soldiers were killed and 14 others seriously wounded. At least three more soldiers were killed and 14 injured last week in attacks against occupation troops in south Lebanon.

The suicide car attack took place on Sunday afternoon shortly before 2:00 pm. An Israeli convoy of four military vehicles carrying soldiers to duty in Lebanon was attacked less than one kilometre from the northern Israeli Metulla settlement. According to an Israeli eyewitness account, the convoy was negotiating a corner when it came upon a Lebanese pick-up truck. The soldiers told the truck driver to

pull over to allow the convoy to pass. As the convoy passed, the vehicle, with a estimated 100 kilograms of TNT, exploded, rocking the area and scattering Israeli soldiers up to 150 metres away.

Israeli military sources reported that the force of the explosion rocked houses in Metulla settlement, breaking windows and causing injuries to a number of settlers. The booby-trapped car was completely destroyed, with only the bottom frame of the car remaining. Israeli military convoy cars were also devastated by the explosion, which made a large hole in the ground.

Minutes after the attack, Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Chief of Staff Moshe Levy rushed to the scene to witness the devastation and supervise the evacuation operation. Meanwhile, Israeli ambulances

and helicopters began evacuating the wounded to Israeli hospitals. According to Israeli accounts, three of the wounded were suffering from serious burns and were being given intensive care treatment.

Several Lebanese Muslim groups claimed responsibility for the attack. The Holy Warriors, one of the Islamic factions which claimed responsibility for the attack, said the operation was in retaliation for the "iron fist" policy which Israel has been implementing in south Lebanon. The Lebanese National Resistance Front, which has sponsored most of the military operations against the Israeli army in south Lebanon, also claimed responsibility for the attack. Meanwhile, the Lebanese *Al Anwar* daily reported that the suicidal car driver was a south Lebanese woman. The paper, however, declined to publish her name.

Zrariyeh Massacre



Bodies and cars smashed in the village of Zrariyeh, which the Israelis stormed March 11.

Press reports from Lebanon described a brutal picture of the Israeli massacre of residents of the village of Zrariyeh in south Lebanon March 11. Journalists who entered the village shortly after the Israeli army exited reported seeing bodies in cars smashed by tanks. Slogans in Arabic with the theme "revenge" were seen sprayed on walls. At least 41 residents were killed, 32 injured, and hundreds arrested.

The Israeli daily *HaAretz* reprinted reports from international news agencies that men were killed in front of their families. Residents of this tiny village from which the Israeli army withdrew February 15 said that almost every family in the village lost a member as a result of the army's action. Screaming women told journalists the scene was a new "Deir Yassin massacre" and "Sabra and Shatila."

Lebanon Radio reported that the Israeli army tied bombs to several of the corpses but the

Lebanese army dismantled them. An official of the Shi'ite Amal movement inspected the carnage and vowed to AFP, "We will take revenge." He said the Israeli army entered the village, gathered all the males, and forced them to stand in the village centre. A man whose face was covered with a black mask was then brought in. He pointed to several residents who he claimed were resistance fighters. His mask was then removed and his identity as a member of Amal arrested by the Israelis three months ago was known.

The Amal official said Israeli soldiers laughed while pushing around Lebanese soldiers arrested in the village centre. "They seemed to be having a lot of fun as they ransacked the village," he said.

Agence France Press reported that frightened residents of Zrariyeh woke up March 12 to see hundreds of people rushing towards their village. Residents

feared it was Israeli army units returning and within a few minutes most of the men left the village in cars and trucks through a narrow back road to the beach. What they had seen, however, were residents of neighbouring villages rushing to Zrariyeh to extend helping hands to the ravaged village, whose residents were still in shock and panic.

The morning of Wednesday March 12 after the men had left and the neighbours from nearby villages returned home, Zrariyeh was deserted except for weeping women. In the village centre a teenage girl wandered barefoot, frequently crying aloud and lifting two photos of her murdered brother. "They killed him, they killed him," she cried. Several women, their faces blackened with mud in a Shi'ite sign of mourning, wept in front of the homes of lost relatives. Empty food cans labeled "Made in Israel" lay next to bulldozed houses and flattened cars.

Israelis Attacked on Litani

Two Israeli soldiers were killed March 12 at an ambush north of the Litani River. An Israeli military spokesperson reported that an Israeli unit was searching the area north of the Qasbiyeh Bridge when they were attacked. Two other soldiers were wounded. The attackers reportedly escaped before Israeli troops started a massive search of the area. Later on, a communiqué issued by Amal movement said that six Israeli soldiers were killed or wounded in the attack and one of the attacking commandos was killed.

In another incident the same day, a second suicide car attack resulted in the wounding of one Israeli soldier, according to Israeli accounts. An Israeli military spokesperson said that a black Mercedes tried to charge a convoy of three Israeli military jeeps south of Jezzini but the soldiers jumped out. Israeli military sources did not give any further explanation. According to a report broadcast by Monte Carlo Radio the same day, six Israeli soldiers were killed in the blast.

Also March 12, four Israeli soldiers were wounded in a roadside bomb explosion in the village of Armata. The four soldiers were transferred by helicopter to Haifa's Rambam Hospital. Israeli military sources also reported at least two other explosions on the same day but said there were no casualties in either of the incidents.

Earlier in the week an Israeli soldier was killed and another wounded March 7 in a clash between Israeli and Lebanese troops near the village of Dwaïr south of Sidon. Israeli military sources reported the clash occurred after Israeli troops crossed Lebanese army-controlled lines in pursuit of Lebanese militiamen. Lebanese military sources said that Israeli troops fired on them, which forced the Lebanese army to reply with heavy artillery.

Five more Israeli soldiers were wounded March 9 in an ambush by Lebanese nationalist commandos near the Qasbiyeh Bridge. The commandos reportedly used small arms fire in the attack and evacuated the area before Israeli troops rushed in reinforcements. The five soldiers

were flown by helicopter to Haifa's Rambam Hospital. Israeli newspapers reported that 13 military attacks were staged the same day against the Israeli army in south Lebanon. The papers quoted Israeli military officials as saying that there were no casualties in any of the attacks.

The sharp rise in military attacks against the Israeli army was coupled with an increase in attacks against the Israeli-backed South Lebanese Army (SLA). Israeli military sources reported that at least four SLA soldiers were wounded in a clash between Lebanese nationalist commandos and SLA soldiers March 7 near the village of Shukin in the Nabatiyeh sector.

In another incident a high-ranking intelligence officer in the SLA army was killed March 8 in the town of Jezzini by nationalist commandos. Reports by the Phalangist-run radio station said that commandos shot and killed the officer during daylight and fled. SLA troops later surrounded the town and mounted an extensive search for the attackers. Israeli and SLA troops continued to apply extensive repressive measures against the population of south Lebanese villages and towns. Israeli newspapers reported that occupation soldiers shot and killed a Lebanese civilian who was hunting birds March 11 in the Maronite village of Kie'a.

Israeli Raid Against Palestinian Base

The Israeli air force raided a Palestinian base in the Beqa' Valley March 13 but, according to Lebanese reports, no injuries occurred as a result of the bombing.

The air raid hit Palestinian bases belonging to the Sa'iq'a movement and Ahmad Jibril's Popular Front-General Command in the area of Rawda near the Damascus-Beirut highway.

Syrian anti-aircraft units fired at the Israeli planes and may have shortened the raid, minimising damage. Beirut Radio said that the five-jet attack lasted three minutes.

The last air raid against a Palestinian base was carried out February 11 when Israeli planes attacked a base for Fatah dissidents.

Beirut

continued from page 1

two kilometres away where they were buried in one large grave. A large sign displayed on the destroyed building read: "Made in USA."

Mohammed Fadallah, head of the radical Hizbullah (Party of God) who narrowly escaped the blast, spoke to the 5000 mourners and blamed Israel and the United States for the deadly explosion. He said: "The fire that has burned 80 innocent

people in Bir al-Abd neighbourhood will one day be turned against the aggressor, Israel." He added, "I hope the world will now realise that by supporting Israeli policies, the US is supporting terrorism and aggression."

In Israel, government officials flatly denied Lebanese accusations and blamed the blast on intra-factional strife between opposing Shi'ite groups. Israeli Cabinet Secretary Yosef Beilin was quoted in *The Jerusalem Post* March 10 as saying that Israel "had never resorted to such despicable terror tactics in the past and was not doing so now."

Local Women's Groups Celebrate March 8

Several thousand Palestinian women, children and men attended four large celebrations March 8 held under the sponsorship of local women's organisations in the occupied territories to mark International Women's Day. The four main events, held March 7 and 8 in Jerusalem, opened in markedly different ways which were, however, substantially similar: skits, national songs, costume shows, solidarity statements and short addresses. All four women's committees also held annual fundraising bazaars of embroidery and handicrafts during the week.

Women's Committee for Social Action

The Women's Committee for Social Action began their festival at the packed Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre in East Jerusalem March 7 with a verse from the Quran followed by a boy scouts' march. A representative of the Social Action Committee detailed the history of the struggle of women in serving the Palestinian people.

Branch committees throughout the West Bank put on a variety of activities for the audience of about 600: national songs from the Jenin committee, a traditional costume show from Jerusalem-Ramallah members, a speech on the importance of education given by a member of the Jalazon camp's literary programme, *dabkeh* by dancers from Ramallah, a sketch and national songs by *zahrat* (young girl members) from Jalazon and Shufat camps, a dress exhibit from Balata camp members, national songs from Tulkarm and Nablus, and small skits from committees in Nablus, Hebron, Beit Ummar, Dura, Dheisheh and al-Bireh.

According to a report in *Al Fajr* Arabic daily March 8, the Social Action Committee stressed the role of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people under its legitimate and historical leadership. It also called for the mass mobilisation of women to achieve nationalist goals.

Palestinian Women's Committee

The Palestinian Women's Committee also held a March 7 assembly to an overflow crowd of 200 at the Stella Maris Club in East Jerusalem. They began with a moment of silence for Palestinian martyrs. A statement was read by a representative of the Federation of Palestinian Women's Committees which paid tribute to the struggle of Palestinian women and expressed the need to raise the cultural, social and political status of women. The delegate also called for the establishment of a "wide national front" inside the PLO to guarantee a counter-offensive "against surrenderist, reactionary proposals prepared against our legitimate cause and aimed at destroying the independence of the PLO."

The PWC festival included presentations by many member sections of the federation, followed by statements of the Progressive Workers' Front, Progressive Students' Front, Federation of Voluntary Work Committees, and Federation of Secondary Students in the Occupied Territories.

According to *Al Mithaq* daily March 8, all statements honoured women on their international day.

Committee activist Widad Barghouti recited a poem for the occasion and the Palestinian Writers' Union in the West Bank and Gaza sent a telegramme of celebration to the festival participants.

Working Women's Committee

The Working Women's Committee held their celebration on March 8 at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre. The capacity crowd of 700 stood for a moment of silence for Palestinian martyrs, especially women. There were words of praise to working women everywhere in the world. Statements by the committee heads and federation head, according to the weekly *Al Tuli*,



The Women's Work Committee celebrations at al-Hambra Cinema March 8: rousing speakers and enthusiastic audience./AO photos

stressed the unity of the PLO based on the Fex resolutions, the 16th PNC, the Aden-Algiers agreement, and on an international conference with PLO participation.

The Working Women's Committee reported that 170 local Palestinian institutions gave women employees a paid holiday on March 8, thanks to their lobbying efforts. During the year, the committee reported it established 15 nurseries, three literacy classes and other productive projects as well as trying to find employment for tens of women.

Al Ghad (Tomorrow) singing troupe from the Voluntary Work Committee gave five

national songs, with the participation of a children's section. The popular Rajeh Salfiti sang rousing political chants for an hour on the themes of women and homeland. The committee in Jerusalem danced a number of *dabkeh*s.

Three individuals were honoured with plaques by the Working Women's Committee: Salha Kiswani, a sewing worker; Fairuz Arafat, the first woman prisoner from Gaza; and Aisha Odeh, the first working woman from Dheisheh camp, who also spoke to the assembly.

Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad, an MK from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, sent the festival a telegramme of congratulations.

Women's Work Committee

The Women's Work Committee had the largest turnout as 1200 people filled every available space at East Jerusalem's al-Hambra cinema. The festival began with a singing rendition of "Katyusha," an Arabic version of an international song of women's perseverance. Statements stressed the importance of liberation, progress and peace to women and the need to safeguard women's rights and to maintain a national line in the PLO. A paid holiday on March 8 was also a slogan for the day.

WWC Higher Committee member Zahira Kamal spoke about experiences of other people around the world living under occupation. Local committees kept the audience entertained and enthusiastic with a variety of songs, skits, speeches and presentations. Men from the Ramallah area village of Arura presented a sketch on steadfastness to the land, the Committee of Secondary Students made a statement praising women's role and a Tulkarm representative spoke on the need to mobilise women in Palestinian causes.

The *Huriya* singing troupe from Bir Zeit University gave a well-received performance, despite the fact that several of their members are still under arrest - victims of the military's midnight raid of the campus March 2.

A group of youngsters, children of Women's Work Committee members, made a "school recital" for the audience, shouting out their names and activities in practised verse.

A statement was given by a representative of the Palestinian Women's Committee calling for a "wide national front" inside the PLO but her suggestion was loudly vetoed from the floor.

Statements from Women's Work Committee members and sympathisers sharply criticised the Hussein-Arafat agreement and the Mubarak initiative and supported a unity line within the PLO.

The WWC also supported a unified women's movement in Palestine.

Soldiers Raid

Red Crescent Library

Israeli soldiers raided the Red Crescent Society in Gaza February 20 and confiscated more than 40 books, a number of periodicals, and wall paintings from its library.

Red Crescent officials said that an Israeli military force from the Gaza military governorate, led by an officer known locally as Major Hassoun, surrounded the building and occupied its hallway. Hassoun and three other Israeli officers searched through the books one by one and sorted them for more than an hour. They also

confiscated back issues of local magazines published in Jerusalem, as well as a number of paintings which hung in the library hall. Before they left they took the librarian's name and ID number.

The library is the only public library in Gaza. Israeli soldiers raided it in a similar manner two years ago and confiscated several dozen books. At that time, Israeli military authorities took the library director and the Red Crescent head to military court and imposed heavy fines on them.

UNRWA Suspends Teachers and Students

UNRWA's Gaza field office suspended 55 teachers from its vocational training centre in Gaza City March 11 for refusing to inform on students who allegedly vandalised its offices last week. The UN agency closed down the school indefinitely March 6 following two days of protests and demonstrations on UNRWA premises by more than 600 students demanding the establishment of a student council.

The 55 teachers were served with written letters informing them of their suspension as of March 10. In a statement to the press March 12, UNRWA explained that the vocational centre's staff defied instructions to

give the names of students who vandalised the place. UNRWA's practice in the past has been to turn students whom they suspect of "misdeeds" over to Israeli police. According to local sources four students were questioned by police last year for "inciting for a student council."

The vandalism occurred as part of an escalating confrontation between students and UNRWA administration over student demands to elect their own representative council.

In a statement published in the local press March 11 explaining recent events, the student movement in the centre, which has led the fight for a

student council, said the UNRWA administration stopped bussing students from their homes to the institute and closed the centre March 6 to signal their absolute refusal of student demands for representation. On the same day students gathered at UNRWA's Gaza field office, adjacent to the centre, for a peaceful sit-in. The student statement reported that demonstrating students clashed with Israeli border guards and police whom the UNRWA administration had summoned to evict students from its premises. The soldiers invaded the compound and drove stu-

continued on page 13

Families Refused Visit

Israeli prison officials prevented families of Palestinian political prisoners from visiting their striking sons March 8, apparently in order to bar them from joining a protest demonstration organised in front of the prison by the Israeli Committee of Women Against Occupation (CWAQ). Over 400 striking political prisoners notified prison officials March 10 that if they don't receive some response to their demands by Sunday, March 17, they will escalate the partial strike to a full hunger strike.

Prisoners' families came from Gaza on four buses supervised by the Red Cross for the regular bimonthly visit but were turned back before they arrived at the prison compound. Israeli border guards told them there would be no family visits that day. Prisoners were also planning to boycott the family visits. One week earlier, the 400 political prisoners had also refused to receive their families as part of

their protest against the prison officials' refusal to hear their complaints.

The cancellation of family visits coincided with a CWAQ protest in front of the prison to express solidarity with the striking prisoners. Eight women carried placards demanding that conditions be improved.

Also on March 8, Israeli Minister of Police Haim Bar Lev refused prisoners' demands for improvements, saying that "conditions inside are not bad." Lawyer Lea Tsemel, who is representing a number of the Asqalan strikers, said that prisoners sent a reply outlining their demands two days later and inviting Bar Lev to visit the jail and see the conditions himself. Tsemel said prisoners plan to stop taking tea and bread and to go on full hunger strike unless they receive a positive reply by next Sunday.

Asqalan prisoners went on strike February 22 after the director refused to meet their

committee or hear demands. One repeatedly voiced request is that a number of mentally ill and long-term prisoners be transferred elsewhere to reduce overcrowding. They are also demanding that frequent room searches, which are usually accompanied by harassment and confiscation of personal belongings, be discontinued.

In a related story, Palestinian political prisoners at Damoun prison in Haifa sent a letter last week to *Al Ittihad*, the Israeli Communist Party daily, asking for support in their struggle against conditions there. The letter, which was published in the local press, said prison officials had put two young prisoners in solitary confinement without giving any reason. Twenty-three young prisoners, aged 14 to 17, were placed in wards with Israeli criminal prisoners, the letter said. Such a move is not standard procedure.

Ministers Testify in Favour of Underground

Two Israeli cabinet ministers appeared as character witnesses for Uri Meir, a member of the Jewish underground, at his Jerusalem trial March 10. Minister of Agriculture Aryeh Nehamkin and Minister Yosef Shapira both praised Meir for his active role in establishing Jewish settlements. Meir, who pleaded bargained his way to a reduced sentence, is charged with membership in a three-man cell planning an attack on Palestinian nationalist Dr Ahmad Hamzeh Natshe of Bethlehem.

The plan was never carried

out. According to Meir, "When the operation fell through, I felt relieved. I made a mistake and was punished for it, both by confessing and by being in prison [for the past 10 months]. Having to admit to being a member of a terrorist organisation to my friends is already punishment enough."

After striking a bargain with the state prosecutor, charges on Meir were reduced to belonging to a terrorist organisation, transporting arms, and attempting to carry out a terrorist attack.

Nehamkin (Labour) sup-

ported Meir in the trial. "Uri was very active in founding the Ramat Maghshum settlement in the [occupied] Golan Heights. I was impressed by his ability, his honesty, and his courage," he said. "When I found his name among the list of members of the underground, it came as a complete surprise." Nehamkin said he first met Meir in the army.

Shapira (Morasha) also praised Meir for his role in helping to establish new settlements in the occupied territories. (Translation: HaAretz, March 11, 1985).

Arab Students Protest "Iron Fist" Policy at Universities

Arab students at Haifa University and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem held several demonstrations and sit-ins last week to protest the detention of fellow students and their suspension from the university. The Regional Union of Arab University Students called on mass organisations and the public to participate in general strikes and protests against the "iron fist" policies by Israeli universities.

Israeli police used tear gas and clubs to disperse more than 100 Arab student protesters at Haifa University March 10. Fifteen students were injured and nine arrested. Students Nisrin Baqai and Fahd Haj were hospitalised for concussions and internal bleeding. Two reporters from the Haifa-based *Al Ittihad* daily were also arrested after being severely beaten by police.

The students were protesting last week's decision by a university disciplinary board to suspend student leader Amir Makhoul and Ja'far Farah for using the Haifa campus for alleged "illegal activities." The two were part of an argument-turned-fist-fight between several Arab and Jewish students during a lecture last month at the university by Raphael Eitan, a for-

mer Israeli army chief of staff and MK from the extremist Tehiya Party. The Arab students were showering Eitan with questions when Jewish students interrupted and a fight started. The police were then called in and Arab students forcefully removed from campus. Amir Makhoul was suspended for two semesters and Farah for one.

According to eyewitnesses, the 100 students were holding a quiet sit-in on campus grounds when police arrived and showered them with tear gas bombs. Nine students and the two *Al Ittihad* reporters, Gideon Gitai and Ali Nassar, were taken in and charged with "assaulting police." Five of the students and Nassar were released on bail 48 hours later. A Haifa court extended the detention of the others. No trial date has been set.

The Arab students struck from classes the next day and held a general meeting to protest university and police action. They collected signatures on petitions demanding the immediate release of the arrested and a halt in discriminatory university policies towards Arab students. Several Jewish students and faculty members joined their protest meeting in solidarity. Professor

Yohanan Hoffman reportedly told students that what he witnessed during the clashes with police "reminded me of my childhood during Nazi Germany" and that "it was painful to see years of cooperation between Arabs and Jews at the university crumble in a few hours." The protest petitions were sent to Israeli government and police officials.

In Jerusalem, over 300 Arab and Jewish students held a sit-in at the Hebrew University campus March 12 and called for others to join them in protests against the harsh measures by the university administration.

The administration also suspended students Ahmad Nazzari and Anwar Daoud last week and will recommend that nine other students appear before the disciplinary board. The 11 were part of a demonstration February 20 to prevent Pierre Yazbek of the neo-fascist Lebanese Phalangist Party from speaking on campus. Over 100 Jewish students intervened and a scuffle broke out. The police intervened and evicted Arab students from campus.

The National Union of Arab Students called for a wide demonstration in front of Haifa University March 14.

Jerusalemites Oppose New Construction Plan

Local Arab opposition is gathering to a Jerusalem municipality plan approved earlier this month to make major alterations in sections of Arab East Jerusalem. The multi-million dollar scheme calls for the construction of a northbound six-lane highway adjacent to the Old City walls, a new central bus terminal and a tunnel. The West Jerusalem architect and three Harvard University graduates have designed a plan to turn the present bus terminal into an archaeological park, according to *The Jerusalem Post*. Some believe the remains of the Second Jewish Temple rock quarry lie beneath the current central bus station.

The Islamic *waqf* committee, Jerusalem's Arab Chamber of Commerce, and several landowners in the area have voiced opposition to the plan and will submit formal objections to the municipality in addition to further protest action.

The proposal calls for an underground bus terminal in the triangular area opposite Damascus Gate. Above ground a modern market will be built to house high-rise small businesses. A tunnel will then connect the bus terminal and market with Damascus Gate. The area to be used for the construction is currently a busy East Jerusalem centre for truck and taxi parking and a watermelon market. The land is owned by local Arab families and the Russian Church.

The Islamic *waqf* owns the property on which the current bus terminal is located. It is strongly opposed to the new plan and has rejected several offers in the past to sell the property to the municipality. According to *waqf* spokesperson Ahmad Muhsein, they will oppose any plan on *waqf* property. The *waqf* "opposes any municipality plans to alter the historic outlook of the city," he said. Muhsein also called recent statements in the Israeli media that the *waqf* had agreed in negotiations to the plan a "distortion of facts" and denied it vehemently. The *waqf*, which is custodian of Islamic properties, will consider protest action as soon as it gathers more information, Muhsein said.

East Jerusalem's Chamber of Commerce opposes the plan for similar reasons. It clashed

last year with municipality officials over a planned demolition of a large building adjacent to the current bus terminal. The demolition was to clear way for a proposed archaeological park. Chamber of Commerce officials obtained a written promise from the city's Israeli mayor, Teddy Kollek, not to go ahead with the demolition. The building contains several small businesses run by local residents. According to Chamber of Commerce head Fayed Barsakat, "The Chamber of Commerce opposes on principle the newly approved plan," adding that it will collect sufficient information from the municipality before initiating proper action. He said that "any change in the historic setting of the city is in no way acceptable."

Seven Jerusalem landowners will lose property as a result of the planned project. Ahmad Jabsheh, who owns two dunums at the sight of the proposed new bus terminal, also lost a large building with 15 stores on the same site in 1967 when the municipality demolished it on the pretext that his property was in a non-construction area. Jabsheh, who has also rejected several offers to sell his land to the municipality, told *Al Fajr* he will consult an advocate to try to prevent municipality construction in his land. He will also demand financial compensation for the loss of his building, he said.

Jerusalem residents have 60 days to file complaints against the plan.

The initial phase of construction, excluding the new market, is estimated to cost US\$4 million. Israeli daily *The Jerusalem Post* quoted municipality sources as saying that the cost of demolishing the current bus station and construction of a park on the site will be covered by a "donor who is interested in preserving the Garden Tomb area located behind the bus station." The donor is reported to be US evangelist Harold Baker, who offered US\$3.5 million for replacing the bus station with a park or for including it within the Garden Tomb boundaries. A rocky hill believed by some to be Golgotha, the traditional site of Christ's crucifixion, overlooks the current bus terminal.

NEW SCP SECRETARY-GENERAL

Garbachov

Mikhail Garbachov, 54, the youngest member of the Soviet Communist Party Politburo, was unanimously elected party secretary-general March 11 at an extraordinary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Garbachov replaces Soviet President Konstantin Chernenko, 73, who died March 10.

Chernenko, who died after a long battle with emphysema, was buried in a state funeral in Moscow's Red Square March 13. Soviets took a last look at their dead leader in Moscow's House of Unions. A large photograph of Chernenko was hung in the House of Unions. Soviet newspaper headlines were ringed in black.

World leaders, presidents, and party heads participated in the state funeral or sent telegrams expressing their sympathy.

Western diplomats consider Garbachov's election as signaling the end of a transition period following the death of Leonid Brezhnev in November 1982. They expect the Soviet Union to take a more active role in East-West relations.

Garbachov addressed the assembly in the Red Square for eight minutes. He confirmed that the Soviet Union would maintain good relations with all countries. "We are not threatening anybody and no one will dictate policy to us," Garbachov said.

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Zrariyeh

Israeli troops brutally invaded the southern Lebanese village of Zrariyeh this week killing at least 50 residents and destroying tens of homes barely a few hours after the suicide car operation which killed 12 Israeli soldiers in south Lebanon. International news agency reporters who reached the village after the Israeli army exit described the scene as "unbelievable" and "distressing." Graffiti on village walls read: "This represents the Israeli army's revenge for every drop of any Israeli soldier's blood spilled in Lebanon." Israeli planes also bombarded the eastern sector of the Beqaa, destroying a two-storey house in the area.

Israeli politicians expressed horror at the suicide attack on their occupation troops March 10 and vowed to revenge for their soldiers. Prime Minister Shimon Peres said immediately following the March 10 attack that Israel would wage a "ruthless war on terrorists," whether Shi'ite or Palestinian, and that Israel would mobilise all its forces to confront the attack against its forces regardless of the political considerations or the damage to its international reputation.

Such remarks take us back three years when the main slogan raised by Israeli officials concentrated on security for the people. Even the 1982 invasion was covered by the name of "peace for the Galilee." Now the slogan is raised again but to a higher level: security for the soldiers of occupation. And the cycle continues with no expected result other than more brutality against the peoples of the Middle East, more understandable resistance to such brutality and foreign occupations and suppression of freedoms.

For the last 33 months, the Israelis have been trying to dominate the Lebanese people and their Palestinian brothers in south Lebanon, to no avail. Brutality and attempts at subordination by foreign invaders have never been a solution to the problem of the invaders themselves.

Historically it has been proven that stability, security, and peace can only come about in a normal situation. Certainly occupation cannot be considered normal.

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Mubarak Makes the Washington Haj

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

Now that Reagan was elected to his second term, and in a landslide proportion, Arab heads of state will be coming for the Washington "Haj"; next is President Mubarak of Egypt. During his last visit to the American capital on February 13, 1984, President Mubarak called on the American government to negotiate directly with the PLO and its chairman, Yasser Arafat, in order to achieve peace in the Middle East region. Both American and Egyptian officials we talked to here in Washington said that President Mubarak will once again stress the need for a solution to the Palestinian question, this time based on "direct negotiations between the Palestinian-Jordanian delegation and Israel," as he told *The New York Times* February 25. Mubarak will also discuss with American officials regional as well as bilateral issues of concern to both parties.

The visit of the Egyptian president, his second in a bit more than a year, comes 30 days between the last Arab visitor, King Fahd, and the next, Shadi Ben Jedid, the Algerian president. During his last visit in Washington, the Egyptian president, with President Reagan and King Hussein of Jordan standing next to him, angered some American officials when he called on the US government to deal directly with the PLO, the party Palestinians chose to represent them. He stressed the centrality of the Palestinian question to peace in the Middle East, adding, "There is no substitute for a direct dialogue with [Palestinians] through their chosen representative, the PLO." Mubarak, in an unprecedented move, told Reagan and the American public, "Mr Arafat is a responsible leader who has demonstrated tremendous courage under the most difficult circumstances [and thus] a dialogue with Mr Arafat would reassure the Palestinian people and rekindle their hope for a better future."

The Egyptian president, in what was read as a hint for King Hussein who was standing by and for the Americans also, said, "No other nation can speak for the Palestinians [and] no other entity has a mandate to lay on their requirement for peace..." Mubarak later on repeated his theme on "Face the Nation," the widely respected CBS news programme, telling the American audience once again that their government "should start a dialogue with the PLO to press them to agree on resolution 242." The US makes its contact with the PLO conditional upon the latter's recognition of Israel's existence, 242 and its renunciation of "violence." Those strong statements of the Egyptian president made headlines in the American media; so much so, in fact, that a senior administration official at the time distanced the Reagan administration then, before the national elections, from what President Mubarak said, for fear of alienating Jewish voters. The official said, "You can not control the statement of a departing head of state and you don't necessarily approve of it by simply standing there."

American Position Frozen

Though clear and straightforward was President Mubarak's appeal with American officials in how to deal with the Palestinian question, the American stand remained unmoved. Nothing that happened as a result of Mubarak's visit or any other event has changed the American position on the Middle East conflict. Because of a flurry of activities now



taking place in the Middle East regarding the Palestinian issue, observers believe there is no doubt that President Mubarak will once again focus his attention in that same direction. Other topics which will also be discussed with the American president are bilateral issues, Egyptian-Israeli relations and the Gulf war.

In a conversation with Egyptian sources in this capital, we were told that President Mubarak will be meeting with President Reagan on March 12 and "will be talking about how to put the peace process back on track and about bilateral relations." Michael Austrian, director of the State Department's Near East Bureau of Public Affairs, said that President Mubarak "will be wanting to build momentum for the peace issue," particularly in light of the Amman "formula" reached between King Hussein and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat February 11. In an interview he granted *The New York Times* February 25th, President Mubarak suggested the US host a meeting between the Arab delegation, composed of Jordanians and Palestinians, and Israel. The US State Department, replying to Mubarak's interview, stated US readiness "to re-engage in the search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East whenever the parties are ready," as stated by its spokesperson Bernard Kalb. The American government's position on negotiations has been that parties must negotiate directly. The Arab party may include "credible" Palestinians, ie, those who will be accepted by Israel.

The American government stand on direct negotiations between the parties, that of Israel and now of President Mubarak differ some from the accords reached in Amman on February 11 this month. The accords, as published by the Jordanian Embassy in Washington, DC, state that "negotiations will be conducted under the auspices of an international conference..." Asked for a comment on this variance, the Egyptian source said, "It is not up to us here to analyse what is going on, back in Cairo," referring us to what was published there in this regard. In the meantime, Salah Khalaf, also known as Abu Iyad, is reported to be "astonished" at President Mubarak's suggestions, particularly in that the PLO is not mentioned as a party to the negotiations. The State Department spokesperson, commenting on Mubarak's interview, said that they are "looking forward to discussing these issues with President Mubarak" when he arrives in Washington.

Another topic on Mubarak's agenda is US aid to Egypt, both in terms of how much and of the use of this aid. For fiscal year 1985,

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

On the night of December 25, 1984, Mrs Hamade, 38, committed suicide. She could not bear searching desperately and fruitlessly for her son Ali, 13, who had been "missing" since the 27th of last March.

The very next day the Committee of the Relatives of Missing Persons and all the families of abducted people organised a demonstration at one of the frontier posts between East and West Beirut and decided to block the passage with a bus and burning tyres. Weary of vain promises from the government and commissions who only passed matters to other commissions, they thus hoped to draw the attention of those in charge of their case and to speed up the settlement of the drama they are living through.

On December 28, five out of the six access roads were blocked. In East Beirut, demonstrations were expected and Patriarch Khorech declared Mrs Hamade "a martyr to all parents of missing persons, Christians or Muslims." Nobody could be unaware of the problem in the country. The relatives of the missing persons declared, in a press release, their determination to pursue the movement until the promises made to them were realised.

On the January 2, 1985, the Council of Ministers took some fresh decisions:

1. The Ministry of Health would be linked to the governmental commission, under the responsibility of Hisham Koryntem.

2. An inter-ministerial committee would be formed, regrouping representatives from all parts of the militia, plus the commissions of inquiry and the parents' committees, to study all the lists of names.

3. Those detained should be freed and as far as the missing persons were concerned, the ICRC would continue with its mission and was charged with making contact with the committee of the relatives and families of missing persons to hold an inquiry into their fate.

4. Surprise raids would be organised in places suspected of being detention centres for "missing persons."

5. Financial aid would be given to the families of missing persons.

6. Penalties against those carrying out abductions or enforced disappearances would be made harsher.

Although not entirely satisfied with the measures proposed by the government, the relatives' committee decided to suspend the movement on January 3, 1985.

It hoped, however, that the "dialogue of the deaf" existing between the national unity government and the relatives of missing persons would be ended.

The relatives' committee and the Committee for the Protection of Democratic Liberties gave a number of interviews where they enlarged upon their position and made some disclosures. After presenting some historical facts about their movement, they stated again their ever-firm conviction that if measures had been taken at the beginning, there would not have been such a deterioration of the situation, as well as their great hopes for the new national unity government which is regrouping all the components and representatives of the whole of the militia.

Speaking for the Committee for the Protection of Democratic Liberties, Sinane Barage revealed that:

1. He himself had suggested to Salim Hoss, president of the committee

'Missing Persons' Relatives Fight Back in Lebanon

of Dar al-Fatwa and recently-appointed minister of education in the new government, that an executive body composed of several detachments of the Lebanese army be assigned to him and that it could carry out surprise raids in the places suspected of being detention centres for missing persons. To date, this proposition has received no response.

2. An ICRC delegate should have confirmed to him personally that the ICRC was on the point of completing an agreement between the three parties - Amal, PSP and the Lebanese Forces - ensuring that the results of ICRC inquiries with the three parties be handed over to the governmental commission and that it had come up against the refusal of the Lebanese Forces, who wrecked this initiative.

3. The UN working group for enforced disappearances had, at the beginning of 1984, sent a written letter to the Lebanese government concerning the fate of 205 precise cases. To date, the working group has received no reply. It is thus preparing to renew this initiative before passing on to a higher stage.

4. The relatives' committee has given a list of 23 detention centres in the hands of the Lebanese Forces to the government commission, different international organisations and the media.

5. The people in charge of abduction operations are very well-known to the families of the abducted, who are even aware, for certain, of:

- the names of those who have captured the relatives;
- the place of detention;
- the number given to the relatives by the gaolers (because each "missing person" is reduced to a mere number).

6. Several times, particularly during our international conference of October 6 and 7, 1984, he said he knows from reliable sources that 30 people were still being detained at Yarzeh and 530 others were in buildings surrounding the official prison of Roumieh, under the command of the leaders of division 252 (the officer of which being Youssef Taham, responsible for the massacres of Haouss al-Oumara and of Kfar Matta) and 253 (officer Elias Ghattas). This information has never been denied by the Lebanese army (here it is a question of people arrested illegally when President Amin Gemayel first obtained his mandate).

The Committee of Relatives and the Protection Committee are questioning the "good will" of the National Unity government to put pressure on President Amin Gemayel and on the Phalangist Party, which both bear the responsibility for these "enforced disappearances," most of which occurred at the beginning of Amin Gemayel's term of office.

In the same way they are questioning the sincerity of the Lebanese Forces, who claim to hold only 78 people in detention, when there are more than 2011 names on the list established by the Parents' Committee.

They are also wondering how, if the government continues to deny or be unaware of the presence of these "illegal"

detainees in their prisons, it can put pressure on the Lebanese Forces to release the prisoners in their possession.

Finally, they are questioning the sincerity of certain patriotic forces who are entering into secret discussions with the Lebanese Forces with a view to carrying out exchanges, meanwhile declaring publicly they are "on principle" opposed to all abductions. When the person who has been abducted has a certain importance, then all sorts of diplomatic manoeuvres and negotiations start, with an exchange in mind. But these manoeuvres and these diplomats vanish when it is a question of 2011 ordinary people. Moreover, they cast doubt on the intentions of the movement launched by the Committee of Relatives of Missing Persons, which has as its aim the release of all missing persons.

They would like to remind everyone of their conviction that the strengthening of security in the country will only be achieved through guaranteeing the security of its inhabitants, first and foremost through the return of missing relatives: that until a hard line is taken by the government, the abduction operations will continue and the situation will get worse. If a national unity government cannot resolve such a problem, what can it do?

They would like to warn against the partial resolutions, like individual interventions to effect changes here or there, which might be seen as an encouragement to have recourse to counter-abduction to induce either the return of disappeared relatives or the release of those that the Lebanese Forces admit detaining, as well as against the fanciful declarations of the Lebanese Forces, who always admit to a smaller number than they have (now they claim to have liberated their 78 prisoners). They thus hope to close the file or they may well be trying to encourage the elimination of new detainees.

Finally, they would like to reaffirm their principled stand against any abduction or counter-abduction: they therefore demand that the government should

at least put a stop to the abduction operations; separate the problem of the 2011 "missing persons" and that of an exchange; that the government should take effective measures as quickly as possible. To leave such a problem unresolved is to open the way for desperate initiatives (such as the practice of counter-abduction or suicide) and to attempts at manipulation from outsiders.

Chronology of Events

On September 27, 1984 the Relatives' Committee held a press conference to make public their anxiety in the face of the fact that the new government commission established after the events of July 1984 had come to nothing.

It accused the Lebanese Forces of having refused to cooperate with the committees and with the authorities officially appointed to deal with the problem.

It noted that "if searches had been carried out in the detention and torture centres, the problem would have been resolved."

On September 29, 1984, a new order was announced giving details of the composition of the government commission and of the funds to be allocated to it. It was to have no effect.

On October 7, 1984, Sinane Barage made a long speech about the problem of missing persons at the international conference organised by the Centre in which he recalled, amongst other things, Israel's responsibility in most cases:

"... But the flagrant thing which has marked the Israeli occupation of Beirut has been this close collaboration between the Israeli army and the Phalangist Party, a collaboration which has helped the latter abduct more than 2000 Palestinian and Lebanese civilians... This practice lasted for more than seven days, that is, for as long as the Israeli forces were there."

On October 11 there was another demonstration by the relatives of the missing. During a meeting with Prime Minister Rashid Karamé, the Committee learned that the official commission was only working for the release of the 78 people held by the Lebanese Forces.

On October 18, according to a reliable source, the ICRC was able to visit 34 people held by Amal.

continued on page 15

Letter to Editor:

I greatly appreciate the opening of your columns to outside opinions, in particular those of readers resident in the occupied territories, as well as to reporters not members of your staff. Such people have, as their recent writings show, a great deal to add to our understanding of developments and to what is properly an ongoing debate on local and regional phenomena, including the role of Palestinian institutions and of persons of various nationalities in the overall process.

I would, however, like to comment on the practice of writing and publishing under pseudonyms. It is, I believe, incorrect in almost every case, whether reporting events or expounding ideas. It betrays a superficial attitude toward the (scant) likelihood of deportation, which must at any rate be confronted in a collective and not an individualist spirit

(and as for fear of professional censure, one should always try to overcome it). By hiding under a pseudonym, one causes suspicion to fall on a variety of shoulders and eschews personal responsibility for one's stances.

Most importantly, when pseudonyms are used, there is no way to test the questions of false consciousness and distorted perception: to what extent do the author's professed attitudes correspond with personal engagement; to what extent does the reporter have to vouch for the veracity of events described?

Personal responsibility, collective struggle: both combine to dictate a policy, where foreigners publishing in the occupied territories are concerned, of transparency as to one's identity, in almost every case.

Roger Heacock



West Bank Women Overcoming Obstacles to Education

by Kate Rouhana

"If you were here 10 years ago, you wouldn't believe the change that has occurred in the situation of women. At least now parents would like their daughters to finish high school. Ten years ago, first prep was enough." So spoke Varsin Aghabikjan, director of the Arab College of Nursing in al-Bireh. An impromptu survey of educational opportunities for Palestinian women in the West Bank indicates that they are finally overcoming some of the obstacles to their education, although not all. Moreover, Palestinian women here are gravitating towards the traditionally "male" sciences — biology, chemistry, physics, mathematics — in such numbers that they now comprise an unusually high proportion of science majors in local universities.

It is well-known that Palestinians are turning to education in ever-greater numbers because it offers some security and opportunity for advancement in their otherwise highly volatile existence. In many ways, women pay the highest price for the Palestinian national dislocation by being frozen as cultural symbols in the stoically selfless image of the "traditional" mother, wife, or daughter. Ironically, however, they may benefit the most from the upsurge of education, particularly in the West Bank. The greater the number of local schools established, the greater the number of Palestinian women — rarely allowed to stray far from home — who will have access to them.

Prior to 1967, most West Bankers would go to Jordan or Lebanon to study, places generally off-limits to young women. But in the last 10 years several existing schools and colleges have been upgraded and accredited as universities, and new colleges established, giving the majority of women their first opportunity to pursue higher education. Among these institutions are Bethlehem University (1973), Bir Zeit (1975), Najah (1977), Hebron University (1980), the Arab College of Nursing (1978), Hebron Polytechnic (1978), and the College of Science and Technology at Abu Dis (1981). The enrollment at most of these

institutions has at least tripled since they were founded, and the percentage of women students has jumped significantly.

Captives of Culture

The cultural norms imposed on women are primarily responsible for the social phenomenon of undereducated women. Halifa Baramki, registrar of Bir Zeit University and one of few women of her generation who overcame these strictures, explained the cultural outlook this way: "If a family has a son and a daughter, they will send their son to school. Girls are always sacrificed when it comes to financial issues. Parents think, 'If we spend on our son, we have social security for our future.' The son will remain with the family, but the girl will get married and go to her husband's family. Everything is aimed at getting the girl married: The girl's career is marriage."

An even greater issue, Baramki explained, is the well-known problem of "honour": a woman who leaves home to study may fall under bad social influence, behave too freely, and — so the traditional wisdom goes — commit some unspeakable acts that would wreck her reputation, ruin her chances for marriage, and shame her family forever.

Honour is still an overriding consideration in all aspects of raising a daughter, but its restrictive effect on women's education is diminishing. In the past, both age and travel distance interacted to keep girls at home after the primary school levels. As soon as a girl reached puberty, she became a potential risk to family honour and was often taken out of school, particularly as higher grades might have been accessible only by travel to another town or village, entailing both increased cost and exposure for the girl. Thus Palestinian women have not traditionally been given the privilege of education their brothers received. "The social values affected inborn abilities," said Baramki.

That all this is in flux is clear from speaking to West Bank women who teach in local universities. Samar Abd al-Nour, 24, a clinical instructor at the Arab College of Nursing in al-Bireh perceives a tangible change: "Before

1967, everyone considered a woman passing the *tawjihi* a great achievement. Now, it's not unusual for women to have college degrees. It's not good enough to have only a high school degree. Today, if a girl finishes high school, she has to go on." Bir Zeit's Baramki agrees. "Although you can still find people here and there who don't think women should be educated, these are only individual cases, not the trend," she said.

Statistics on the number of girls sitting for the *tawjihi* (high school matriculation) exams partially confirm these observations. While the total number of students sitting for the exam increased by 280 percent between 1968 and 1984, the number of girls who took it went up by 386 percent. These must be interpreted with caution, however, as no reliable population data is available to tell us how many women in the population complete high school. The increase may be restricted to urban areas or to more affluent sectors of the population.

Dr Othman Abu Libdi, from the office of planning and development at Bir Zeit University, explained some of the trends he found in a long-term study of male-female ratios among students who sit for either the arts or science track of the exam. Whereas in 1968 there used to be 2.5 males for every female taking the exam, by 1990 there will be 1.5. For the arts stream *tawjihi* alone, Abu Libdi projects, the ratio will be .9 to 1 — or almost one-for-one — in 1990.

Abu Libdi also pointed out that the rate of women continuing on to higher education in the West Bank is substantially higher than the rate of men. His data show that out of all students who pass *tawjihi*, about 10 percent more of the women go on to higher education in the West Bank than do men. In the 1978-1982 period, for example, 20 percent of men and 29 percent of women who passed the *tawjihi* went to local universities. "This does not mean that more women get educated," explained Abu Libdi, "but rather that more women go to school here because families don't like to send their daughters abroad."

While the absolute number of women in local institutions of higher education is much smaller than the number of men, Abu Libdi observes, the rate of growth in their attendance is more than double that of men. Another possible explanation, he says, is that the male drop-out rate is increasing. He notes that the absolute numbers of males sitting for the *tawjihi* exam have dropped slightly over the last three years, and he has a hypothesis — as yet unsubstantiated — that boys may be dropping out of school in order to work, probably in Israel, in these times

of economic hardship. Girls, on the other hand, are severely constrained from doing so by social norms, so they reap the fruits of burgeoning local educational opportunities. They must go to school in order to make their now indispensable financial contribution to family life.

Everyone seems to agree that the economy is the prime mover behind the recent surge in the ranks of educated women. "The image of women in the West Bank is changing," Aghabikjan said. "It's the political and the economic situation. Their families encourage them more; they are a potential source of income. Families can no longer afford to have only one person working."

Abd al-Nour echoed this view: "Before 1967, life was not as expensive. These days, we can't guess what will happen today or tomorrow. Most women go to school for money. Once they go out and get educated, they find it's much better — they can find friends and win a position for themselves. With independence, you gain a certain personality. People look at you differently."

Sciences Attracting Women

The fact that economic motives lie behind the growing numbers of women in higher education is also partially responsible for the unusually high percentage of women studying sciences today. "I believe more women are going into sciences," said Halifa Baramki. "I myself wanted to go into sciences when I was young — but I couldn't, because there was no science *tawjihi* for girls at the time. At least today there is no inbuilt discrimination against them. Many more families encourage their daughters to go into sciences because of the economy — the sciences reap higher income. If a daughter has an inclination to go into the sciences, her parents won't stop her today, whereas they used to say, 'What do you need with sciences — you're going to get married.'"

Indeed, the data on the *tawjihi* exams over the last 18 years show that while the number of male students taking the science test has increased 191 percent since 1968, the number of female students taking the test has jumped 355 percent, almost double. However, Abu Libdi points out that the ratio of females to males is still very low. Whereas in 1968 it was .22 to 1, today it is .39, and his projections only show it rising to .44 by 1990. That is to say, by 1990 there will not even be a two-to-one male-female ratio among students taking the science *tawjihi*. "This is much lower than it should be," he said.

Interestingly, however, since 1975, a consistently higher percentage of all

continued on page 10

EXPANDING WEST BANK UNIVERSITIES

	STUDENT BODY	
	When Accredited	Today
BIR ZEIT (1975)	473	2393
NAJAH (1977)	700	3031
HEBRON (1980)	949	1560 *
BETHLEHEM (1973)	410	1363
COLLEGE OF NURSING (1978)	34	93
HEBRON POLYTECHNIC (1978)	54	728
ABU DIS (1981)	82	421

* for 1982-83 year.



Interview with Fahd Qawasmeh: 'No Justice in Expulsion'

refuse to accept him as mayor. He maintains his position solely because of the power of the military authority — not by law and not through the will of the people.

Q: In retrospect, do you have any misgivings about the tactics of boycotting the military's "civil administration"?

A: No. As a Palestinian, I believe in self-determination. We boycotted the "civil administration" because the Israelis sought a political solution from it. During the election campaign in 1976, we announced very clearly, "No, for the civil administration. Yes, for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state." When I was mayor I solved the majority of the problems of my town, and these were civilian decisions. But there is a big difference between touching the daily activities of the people and believing that the civil administration is a political solution.

Q: Have the Israeli peace groups been helpful?

A: The peace groups in Israel are providing a lot of help. And they are attempting to stop many things that the military authority is doing. Near the end of 1979, when I was mayor, Mr [Meir] Kahane decided to make a demonstration in Hebron. I invited Peace Now and the other Israeli peace groups to hold a counter-demonstration. All of them came and together we marched and Kahane cancelled his demonstration. And when the Israelis decided to settle in the middle of Hebron, we asked the peace groups to put pressure on the Israeli cabinet so that there would be a reconsideration. Their demonstration attracted 25,000 people. Really, these people are brave people. They believe in peace. They believe in the rights of the Palestinian people. We had good relations with them when I was inside and still do now. We must help them and push them more and more until they will be powerful enough to be an effective Israeli opposition.

Q: As a deposed mayor, what is your reaction to the appointment of Israelis as mayors of West Bank cities?

A: We were elected as mayors under Jordanian law, which Israel says it recognises as the law of the occupied territory. Jordanian law speaks about holding an election every four years but it mentions nothing about giving the authority the right to install a foreigner as mayor. The Israeli mayors in Nablus, Hebron, Ramallah and al-Bireh are foreigners, and have been put into office contrary to the law.

And, as you know, the mayor is a man who the people can explain their problems to. Because he's the mayor, he can contend with the authorities. When the mayor is an Israeli, it means that the people have nobody to advise or protect them. At the same time, the people in the occupied territories see the Israeli as an occupier and, for that reason, they

development is more than any Israeli city if comparisons are made with their budget." I believe that the Palestinians, who are today transforming the Gulf area and Saudi Arabia and Jordan through their efforts are clearly capable of running their own state.

Q: What's your assessment of the Israeli system of justice?

A: You can't say the word "justice" in conjunction with the word "occupation." The two words are incompatible. We respect the Israeli court but we do not respect anyone who distorts the law. When a judge considers a case, he doesn't decide on his own; he refers to the law. But the law says that if you are a [West Bank] Palestinian and you throw a stone at an Israeli vehicle, you are put into prison for two years and

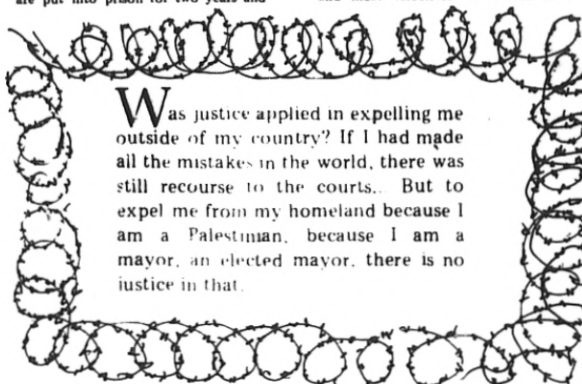
the last analysis we respect their courts.

Q: In the Palestinian arena, should consensus give way to majority rule?

A: This is what I am working for. I think that it's impossible to continue to have what's called unity, consensus. No [parliament] in the world governs that way. We must have two parties, the majority and the opposition.

Q: In what ways would you like to see the Palestine National Council (PNC) evolve?

A: I believe that what we have done in the last twenty years is not acceptable for the future. We must develop the system and the attitude of the PNC to become more practical, more powerful, and more effective. We should have



you pay a heavy fine. An Israeli of the same age, etc., who throws a stone at an Arab car [in the occupied territories] goes to jail for one week. [In January 1984, Israeli law was extended to apply to settlers living in the occupied territories — RG.] This is the law. Who changed that law? The occupier.

Was justice applied in expelling me outside of my country? If I had made all the mistakes in the world, there was still recourse to the courts. There is an Israeli military court, there is a civilian court; they could punish me, put me in jail for one year, ten years. But to expel me from my homeland because I am a Palestinian, because I am a mayor, an elected mayor, there is no justice in that. Of course, the Israeli High Court implemented British mandate law when they confirmed my expulsion. That gave them the "right" to expel me. But really, this is justice?

There is thus a big difference between justice and the law. The Israelis are not concerned about justice. If they were, they would refuse to occupy another's land. But if we are speaking about the Israeli courts, really, there are good courts in Israel. Maybe some mistakes occur here and there, but in

three, four meetings yearly, at which everyone should have the right to discuss any subject, every small point, in order to know the mistakes we've made and what we can do to correct them. To discuss more than just political issues. What to do for the Palestinians in Lebanon, what to do for the Palestinians in the occupied territories, and so on. Not only do they need liberation but they also need schools, they need everything.

Q: Do you approve of Yasir Arafat's diplomatic moves over the past year or two, in particular his meeting with Egypt's Hosni Mubarak?

A: I believe Chairman Arafat is doing the right thing. It is very important for the PLO to maintain relations with Egypt today and thereby help Egypt rejoin the Arab nation.

Q: What problems, if any, do you see posed by the National Alliance?

A: Any group that will work with us in the future, we support that group. The problem is not this or that group. The problem is the policy of Israel.

Q: Is this the moment for Palestinians to unequivocally accept the 1947 partition plan (United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181) or some other two-state solution, or to offer mutual simultaneous recognition?

A: I believe we can announce our acceptance of United Nations Resolution 181, which speaks about the division [of Palestine into] two countries. I have openly supported this idea for five years but, as you know, there are still some Palestinians who believe this is not the right time for such a move.

Q: How influential is Islamic fundamentalism in the occupied territories?

A: When there are extremists on one side, there will be extremists on the other. Thus the fundamentalists or extremists in the occupied territories will be most powerful when [people like] Kahane are most powerful. There is a one-to-one relationship. If people see that Kahane can get away with anything, then there will be Arab Kahanes. This is especially true in the occupied territories because the situation there is directly the result of the policy of Israel, which, particularly during the past seven years, has pushed the area to be more extremist. Kahane even refuses to accept the right of Palestinians to live in the Galilee. He says they must be expelled. If a Palestinian who is living in Israel as an Israeli sees that a member of the Israeli Knesset wants to expel him, toward what view is he likely to incline? Extremist, because defending one's own safety is a natural reaction. When you are trying to kill me, I'll do everything to kill you first; but when you are trying to save me, I'll try to save you first.

Israel's refusal to negotiate a fair peace is pushing not only the occupied territories but also the entire Arab region to be more extremist. While we have been speaking about a political solution, the Israelis have failed to see anything other than a military one. We've tried to show them that this is destroying the region but on both sides, in Israel and in the Arab world, the voice of extremism is louder.

Q: In what way does Israel respond to Palestinian moderates?

A: They expel them. You know, if I had said that I wanted to destroy Israel, they wouldn't have expelled me. They wouldn't have expelled me because then they could air me on American TV with the caption: "Look, this is Mayor Qawasmeh; he wants Israel destroyed." That would enhance their fundraising efforts.

The Israelis gave as their reason for deporting me that I was inciting against the occupation. Did you see anyone accept the occupation? All the Palestinians in the occupied territories oppose it. That's natural. But in fact they expelled me because I had success. I had success in organizing people in the occupied territories. I had success in reaching the peace forces in Israel with the fact that we are ready for peace, that it is the policies of their government that stand in the way of peace. I had affirmed Israel's right to statehood and security, and had spoken out about self-determination and an independent Palestinian state. I was working for peace. Not peace for the Palestinians alone, peace for the Palestinians and the Israelis. It was because I spoke about peace for both sides that they expelled me.

What do they want moderate Palestinians to say? To thank God because we are under occupation? I don't know what the Israelis mean by "moderate." Does being a moderate in their eyes mean being an Israeli collaborator? This is a moderate? No. A moderate man is one who can accept what another needs while at the same time asking only for what he himself needs. For these and other reasons, it's not easy to have any Palestinian leader in the occupied territories who is speaking about trust, about justice, about the goals of the Palestinians.

Q: Do the objectives of the settlers differ from the objectives of the Israeli government?

A: Without the decision and power of the government, how many of the settlers would agree to go to the occupied territories? Who is subsidizing their housing? The Israeli government. Who is providing them with all kinds of facilities? The government. Then is there a difference between the settlers and the government? No, because it's impossible to settle if the government doesn't say that it is their right.

But if we were talking about the difference between an Israeli living in Tel Aviv and an Israeli living in a settlement, I could distinguish between the two. Most of the Israelis living in Tel Aviv believe that that is their home and they refuse to leave it to settle in the occupied territories. The settlers, on the other hand, are sometimes foolish people, because how else could their acceptance of taking another's land by force be explained? Maybe they are fanatics; then they don't care about anyone else's feelings. Or maybe they are thieves, in which case they are concerned about their own monetary gain rather than the rights of others. And, believe me, some of the Israelis settling in the occupied territories are looking only for money. They know that if they settle, they don't have to pay taxes, they don't have to pay this or that. But you could offer to pay the tolerant people in Israel anything and they still wouldn't want to settle. And if you asked them why, they would say, "I refuse to be like those people."

Q: What will happen to the settlers if there is a negotiated settlement?

A: Look, for me, I would like to tell you this is not the main problem. If the settlers would like to live among us as Palestinians, we are not against that. Jewish people are living in Syria, in Egypt, in every place in the Arab world. And they are welcome to live with us in Hebron and elsewhere. In Nablus, you know, a thousand or more Jews have lived for a long time. They are called Samaritans. They refuse to go to Israel. They live in Nablus with our full respect. They have their synagogue, they have their school. In America, in your country, there are Jews, Christians, Muslims, Hindus. All of them are living together under one law and everybody accepts that law. We are not against Jewish people living with us. But there is a big difference between living with us as a settler and living as a citizen. As a settler, we refuse them. We are against anyone who would like to make our lives miserable. But if they would like to live with us as a neighbour or as a friend, under the same law, with the same rights, *Ahlan wa ahlan*, (welcome) as we say in Arabic, *Ahlan wa ahlan*.

Q: What's been the hardest part of being away from Hebron, of living in exile here in Amman?

A: You know, one's homeland is like one's mother. Everybody likes his mother. Some people have as their mother a very beautiful woman; they like her. Some people have a very ugly woman. But she is their mother; they like her. The desert, without a single tree, is home for some people, and they like their homeland. I like my homeland, and I have the right to live in my homeland. That is the first thing.

Secondly, the people there, they love me and they give me too much, and I would like to defend them, to help them regain their rights. And you are coming from a democratic country. You understand what it means when the people elect you. They trust you, they pay you their highest respect.

And if I am speaking about myself as an individual, my family, my mother, my house are in Hebron. It's not easy to forget all that in one day simply because a decision comes from an outside authority to expel you.

Q: Given the situation on the West Bank, especially the extent of the settlements, are we approaching the time when it will be too late to establish a Palestinian state?

A: The words "too late" do not exist as part of the political vocabulary. The Israelis decided to return back, as they say, to their homeland after 2000 years. We have been waiting only 36 years. The right of nationhood is not altered by time.

I know that Israel is now the dominant power. They can do whatever they like. They can let all of us return or they can deport every Palestinian. They can invade Lebanon, they can attack whoever they want, and so on. But we will never quietly accept occupation. Israel reached Beirut but everyone knows that the Israelis did not succeed in Lebanon. Now they will leave part after part because all their weapons will not enable them to permanently occupy another's land.

We are raising our hand for peace. Not for us alone. For us and for the Israelis. But peace must be with the Palestinians. Without the Palestinians, there is no peace. And for that reason, if the Israelis believe that in time the Palestinians will forget their homeland, they are mistaken. If they think that more military power and more settlements will persuade the Palestinians to change their goals, they are mistaken. The Israelis can do what they want but they can't get what they want. Peace is between two nations, two peoples, two partners.

When the Israeli cabinet decided to settle in the middle of Hebron, I spoke to them many times. I told [Israeli Defense Minister Ezer] Weizman, "Don't make a mistake. Keep Hebron as it is in order to keep the door open for negotiation, to keep the door open for peace. If you Judaize Hebron and Jerusalem and then Nablus, it means that you are closing all the doors to peace. If this is your policy, you are doing the right thing, but if your policy is to have peace, you must keep some doors open for that peace." I know that the Israelis can today push hundreds of thousands of Palestinians outside of Palestine. They can put them in trucks and drive them to the desert of Jordan. They have the power. But this does not mean that they have their security or their peace. Peace involves two sides, not one. For that, they must understand respect.

Education

continued from page 7

girls who have taken the science stream *laujihi* have passed it than boys (see graph). This curious phenomenon requires explanation, and it is instructive to compare a man's interpretation with as woman's. Othman Abu Libdi offered the following as a possible explanation: "Because women are more restricted in their movement than men, they have less distractions. They have nothing much to do. They can just sit home and study." By contrast, Hafa Baramki said: "It shows the kind of competition these women are feeling — they know they must do well or their chances to do anything will be nil."

Another possible explanation ties in with cultural norms. As girls are not pressured to go on to study like boys are, it is probable that a *de facto* process of self-selection takes place: girls who shine to begin with and who are very determined to persevere would be more likely to win parents' consent to finance their education, whereas those who are weak or disinterested will not be pushed to continue. But all boys, regardless of inherent ability, would be eagerly prodded on by parents.

The net result of all this is that by the time high school graduates reach universities, the male/female ratio in sciences more or less even out. At Najah, for example, the percentage of women in the sciences has been on the rise since 1977 from 37.3 to 44.9, and the actual proportion of women at the school stayed around 45 percent over the same time period.

At Bir Zeit, the percentage of female science students has actually decreased from 34 to 29.6 percent — but so has the proportion of women in the student body as a whole. The decrease can be partially explained by checking statistics on graduates. It seems that at Bir Zeit, more men switch out of science subjects than do women because by the time science students graduate, around 50 percent of them are women. Perseverance.

At Bethlehem this year, where the student body is 44 percent female, 35 percent of the science students are women. At the Abu Dis College of Science and Technology, 44.6 percent of the students are women. One should note, however, that there is a marked trend of decrease in this percentage: the first class admitted in 1981 was 58 percent female, but the freshman class today is only 38 percent female. Vice Chancellor Zuhair al-Karmi explains this by saying that "women are interested in teaching, not technology *per se*." This is because "exact sciences are difficult for women," he asserts. Nonetheless, women at Abu Dis have higher grades on average, says Dr Jamil Sarhan, director of the college's research centre.

The Arab College of Nursing in al-Bireh is a special case as all 93 students in the nursing programme are women. It also offers a coeducational medical technology programme for a smaller number of students, where women are about 35 percent.

The Hebron Polytechnic is the only school without a large number of women. Out of its 728 students, a mere 40 are women. The deputy director of the Polytechnic, Mohammed Said Ahmad, told *Al Fajr* that this is because of the "nature of the courses offered" and that women are just not interested in these subjects. (The programme is divided into electrical, mechanical, civil, and construction engineering streams). They do not discriminate in admissions, he said.

Hebron University does not offer

sciences, only Islamic law and humanities.

Self-Selective?

The high percentage of female science students is difficult to explain accurately. The best one can do, given the lack of a national authority that would collect data and monitor the situation on a regular basis, is to hazard some guesses.

One thing to note is that the procedure by which students are divided into the science and literary streams after the tenth grade is self-selective. Those who have an average of 60 percent or above may choose between science or arts, while those who do not automatically go with the arts. Most who qualify to take science, Abu Libdi said: it's a question of prestige. Therefore the smarter women — and the more motivated and more likely to merit parental expenditure on a college education — are the ones who choose the sciences. If the selection process for science were not so clear-cut, it is possible that the distribution at the university level would be different.

Yet this explanation assumes that all or most science *laujihi* holders choose to continue in a science, and this may not necessarily be the case. It is also possible that male science students, perhaps the main "family investment," are sent abroad to study at the "best schools" while women stay here to learn. For those who don't leave, it may be that Bir Zeit, with its good reputation, has a "magnet effect" — drawing men

left the country to an unknown destination.

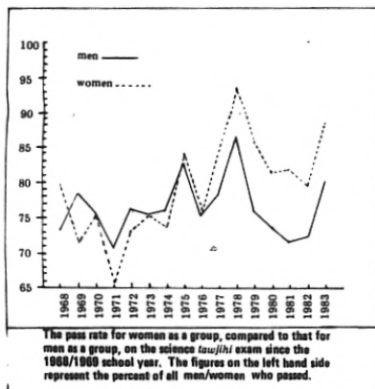
Until this year, women at the Arab College of Nursing received a free education in exchange for an equal number of years of service in the community. If they married in the meantime, they only had to work half the number of years they had studied. Partly because of this arrangement, Varsan Aghabikian explains, all of their two classes of graduates — 66 women — are working as nurses except for five who are in the United States on AMIDEAST scholarships for graduate study, and one who is married and staying at home. But she also stressed the fact that while there is a severe shortage of qualified nurses in the West Bank, hospitals can't afford to hire the staff they need. She fears that after this year's 27 graduates find employment, the market will be saturated, and future graduates may find it more difficult to get jobs.

At the larger universities, there are no statistics available for graduates, but the percent of women finding employment after graduation is likely to be lower. Whatever the perception of science as a lucrative alternative, the absence of any business, technological, industrial, or scientific infrastructure in the West Bank, the low budgets available to labs and hospitals, and the new Jordanian regulations prohibiting emigration make prospects for science graduates bleak. Women especially may not be hired for traditionally "male" jobs in the sciences, particularly technological

is more than sufficient.

One such case is Nahaya Awartani, 31, a math professor at Najah. Although her parents finally permitted her to go to the American University in Beirut for college — before any universities existed in the West Bank and only because her brother was also there — they absolutely refused when she insisted on going for an MA in the US. "I had all the chances," she told *Al Fajr*, "scholarships from all over. But my family wouldn't send me. I had to fight them like hell." After a long and very trying battle, Nahaya won. She went to the American University in Washington DC and became the first woman from her home village of Anabta to get a graduate degree. She paid for it entirely herself, from teaching and scholarships. But the struggle left a permanent scar inside her, she says, and now she finds it difficult to go through the whole thing again for a PhD. Last year she was offered an AMIDEAST scholarship — but turned it down in the face of family opposition. "But I will go," she insists. "I have to get my PhD, one way or another." Hence Awartani is not surprised when none of her female students show much interest in graduate study. "Most are interested in teaching at high schools," she said.

One of the few ways women can leave and go for graduate study — if they manage to wrangle family consent — is by AMIDEAST scholarships. But while responsible officials at Bethlehem, Bir Zeit, and Najah stress that sex is not taken into consideration in awarding scholarships, the percentage of women who are actually abroad is very low. For example, only one-sixth of Bir Zeit's



who want to study science from all over the West Bank, while women have to stay at schools where they can live near home. This might be why the percentage of women in science is decreasing at Bir Zeit but increasing at Najah. It might also explain why the proportion of women at Bir Zeit is lower as a whole, despite the administration's policy of non-discrimination in admissions.

Employment Outlook

After they graduate with a science degree, female scientists must find work. Surprisingly, Bethlehem and al-Bireh reported that nearly 100 percent of their women science graduates are happily employed. Mousa Darwish, director of public relations at Bethlehem, said that 90 percent work as high school teachers and a few go to labs or hospitals. Out of a total of 54 female scientists graduating from Bethlehem since 1979, he said 46 teach in high schools, three work in hospital labs, and three have gone on for higher study abroad. Only three are employed in jobs outside their fields. One has married and

or engineering posts. Their options are limited, especially if they cannot travel far from home. They cannot go to the Gulf like men can, unless they are married to men who also happen to want to leave. If Bethlehem's statistics are any indicator, women who do find jobs are probably teachers, whether in secondary schools or, sometimes, at their own alma mater.

No Graduate Programmes for Women

In order to be rehired at their own schools, women need graduate degrees — and this is where opportunities close up again for female students of sciences and humanities alike. So far, there is just no programme of graduate study in the West Bank. And although college graduates are older, more experienced, and theoretically wiser and less rash, their freedom of movement as women is still severely constrained by societal norms. For most, going abroad to study is simply out of the question — so far. Not to mention the fact that parents who were grudgingly willing to pay for a daughter's BA feel that that investment

AMIDEAST recipients who are currently abroad are women. Out of those, one-third are science students. Almost all women who go abroad on these scholarships will be hired by their alma mater upon their return. If successful, these women can pave the way for many more in the future.

But the way is not easy, especially for women who aspire to graduate study. "The attitude of educated Palestinian men makes things worse for educated women," says Awartani. "I feel we scare them. I can feel that anywhere I go. Because we present a threat to their dominance."

Ultimately, the far-reaching transformation that political and economic circumstances have wrought in the West Bank will effect an irreversible change. Women may seek education only out of financial necessity, but, as Awartani said, "Once they become financially independent, everything else changes too." Education is one of the few things that cannot be physically taken away. While this is why Palestinians are flocking to universities, it is also the reason why, in the long run, the education of women is likely to effect permanent changes in the structure of Palestinian society.

WHAT SCIENCES DO WOMEN CHOOSE?

	(1)					
	BIR ZEIT	BETHLEHEM	NAJAH			
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Biochemistry	48	40	52	43	(3)	(3)
Math	19	41	36	109	104	133
Chemistry	10	38	31	71	(3)	(3)
Physics	6	26	(2)	(2)	(3)	(3)
TOTAL	164	391	119	223	229	322
% Women of Total Science Students	29.5		34.2		41.6	

(1) BZU students choose special science fields only after 1st year. Totals include freshmen science majors, but the breakdown does not.

(2) Physics not offered

(3) Numbers not available

Palestine and Culture



The Image of Woman in Palestinian Literature



Ghasan Kanafani

by Flavia Pesa

According to a small survey of progressive writers and literary critics, the image of women in local Palestinian literature has not changed from the classical role of all-providing mother, obedient wife, romantic lover that was current when Israeli forces invaded the West Bank and Gaza in 1967. Neither the pressure of occupation nor the women's movement have altered this conservative image.

Women find their way into literature at all not as portraits of themselves but as the embodiment of the unattained, the perfect goal: fertility, lush land, the womb of society, Palestine itself. Palestine-as-woman has been "used and over-used," says Ramallah poet Hanan Mikhail, who criticises the constant analogy because it relegates women to their biological condition.

"Men still have an old view of who women are," points out Hanan Awwad, a Jerusalem writer and literary critic, "and they want to keep this old role." Hanan Awwad would not, however, criticise tying the image of Palestine with woman since both are, in her opinion, positive images. Wafa' al-Bahar, one of only a handful of Palestinian women journalists, also expressed the view that literary images of women expressed their role in society, but that as their participation and political involvement increases, so their place in literature will change.

Said al-Ghazali, a poet and journalist, said that most poets employ the "angel symbol," especially Mahmoud Darwish, Abdul Nasr Saleh and Nizar Kabbani. Kabbani, known as the women's poet, is probably the most sexist of Arab writers, in al-Ghazali's opinion. Younger poets in the occupied territories have depended on these characteristics of "the beautiful" and "the perfect" and the recurring analogy of woman with land. "It is considered a positive image and it has not changed," although the new writer admitted it may be positive only in the characteristic of fertility.

Veteran literary critic Mohammed Batrawi took a harsh view of writers seeing women as the womb of the land.

"It is simply an expression of sexual frustration," he said, "and sloganeering."

Hanan Mikhail isolated a second image of women employed by Palestinian writers: women's realistic role in tradition, as a peasant and completely lacking in self-consciousness. "Very few writers deal with women as conscious beings who handle their own problems" Mikhail charged.

Critic Batrawi asserted that the revisionist romantic thoughts of women as symbols of peasant life treated women as simply part of the means of production. He pointed out that even the emphasis on the "fustan," (Palestinian dress) is, for one thing, not even Palestinian but the heritage of regional agricultural society and a relic of Assyrian, Syrian, Berber, Arab-Islamic and other traditions. The woman-as-peasant image never gets beyond the surface depiction. It treats woman as a commodity as surely as a mother or land portrait.

The Palestinian revolution, all



Sahar Khalifeh

those interviewed pointed out, did create a new role for woman, the woman as fighter and participant in all phases of struggle. Ghasan Kanafani is attributed with almost single-handedly reproducing this role in contemporary literature. Hanan Awwad: "The role of women was suddenly seen — in the fields, at home, as an educated person, in the struggle for the land. She was active." But even this vital image was subject to caricature.

Poet Mahmoud Darwish, says Hanan Mikhail, treats women as people. Batrawi adds that although Darwish looks at woman as a friend — certainly a show of progress — he does not share her problems and feelings. Sahar Khalifeh, a prominent local writer who is now studying for an advanced degree in the US, wrote two novels in which women are the main characters. Khalifeh was quite outspoken in her work about social relations with men and critical of leftists for not "practising what they preach." Batrawi says that Khalifeh's work was "bitter but not deep. It was a depiction of woman's struggle to share in the national revolt but not a social revolt, and it was a criticism only of the left."

Hanan Awwad thought Khalifeh's first book *We Are Not Again Your Slaves* reflected some light on men's oppression of women but that the status of women should be viewed as a whole, and without the romance. "The heroine as a challenger is not as clear a literary role as it should be," she said.

"I don't think literature until now gives a perfect image of the intellect, power and ability of women to raise their voices against political restrictions. Women in prison, in education, in political and charitable organisations have not been addressed."

Al-Ghazali agrees that local Palestinian writers do not address social issues, only political issues. "Nothing is about concrete problems, but it is essential to do so, to work toward universal concepts... I think that Palestinian literature hasn't reached the point yet of reflecting a real image of woman. There are no feminist writers."

Batrawi believes that there is a difference between men and women writers: "Women writers are progressive already, to pass the obstacles of 'to want to write' and 'to write,' while men writers — even leftists — are still bound by the traditional role of women. Even good portrayals tend to be shallow. Real-life women are never represented."

"Free will and decision-making for women will necessarily affect the family," argues Hanan Awwad. "But women have to know their role. For this, writers need the support of society and to be out from under its veil."

Nationalist literature does not face Palestinian society's internal problems because of the overwhelming confronta-



Mahmoud Darwish

tion with Israel, Hanan Mikhail pointed out. But at the same time, "We can't face the enemy if we oppress ourselves. You can't fractionalise liberation." It is much easier, Mikhail explains, to combine political activity against the enemy with progressive attitudes when you are not in daily confrontation — when you do not "see" the enemy. "The local literature has predictable concerns. It is nationalistic without necessarily being progressive. There is more concern for its literary aspects, which I believe is healthy. All is committed literature but shows various degrees of progressiveness. And without a women's feminist movement, you won't get feminist writers. Both the traditional society and political oppression work against it... But once occupation is over..."



WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

A Solidarity Tour That Deserves Support

The Arab tour undertaken by the President of Democratic Yemen, Ali Nasser Mohammed, adds new emphasis to the fact that this country is playing a leading role under the guidance of highly responsible leadership. It also indicates realization of the urgent need to close ranks to confront imperialism and its various aspects, including the conspiracies directed against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and against the joint move emanating from Cairo and Amman. All Arabs are undoubtedly looking forward to positive results from the tour. They hope all countries that the president visited will respond to the call to restore Arab solidarity so as to take the initiative from the forces of surrender, supportive of the imperialist offensive.

A long time has already passed since the disintegration of the Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation. But its political platform is still adhered to by many parties. Struggle experience shows there is no alternative to the progressive nationalist forces, to alliance with the Soviet Union and to depending upon the Arab masses.

AL TALIA
March 7

In Solidarity with Bir Zeit

The Israeli military authorities' decision to close down Bir Zeit University was not surprising to anyone. The military had already prepared Israeli public opinion for the closure by showing the paintings and books on TV that were allegedly seized and confiscated in an exhibition.

The Israeli newspapers had also published similar reports depicting Bir Zeit University as a hotbed of inflammatory activities and as a "security danger" to the occupation authorities.

And we say that the closure of Bir Zeit University was neither the first nor the last time because academic freedom under occupation has always been exposed to systematic and continued violation and assault.

Yet we believe that Palestinian students' activities, as long

as they remain inside the university, are no different from similar activities in Israeli universities.

We lament the continued violation of freedom of expression and the military misuse of authority by using this authority to paralyze universities and higher colleges and block the road of knowledge and education in the face of our students.

We see it as our duty to stress our rejection of curbing academic freedom and collective punishment. We affirm our solidarity with Bir Zeit University teachers and students together and call on the officials to reconsider the closure decision because of the grave damage it inflicts on our students. We greet all progressive forces who raised their voices against the closure of Bir Zeit University.

AL FAJR
March 9

The Palestinian- Soviet Relations

The PLO has asserted anew its adherence to the idea of an international conference with the participation of the Soviet Union. The PLO's stand is compatible with the Palestinian policy which sees friendly relations and alliance with the Soviet Union as a cornerstone in the Palestinian work. The Soviet Union has always stood by Palestinian rights. The Palestinian assurances aim at putting an end to the attempts to undermine the Palestinian-Soviet relations.

AL SHA'AB
March 11

The death of Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko, the bombings in Lebanon, and the closure of Bir Zeit University were the main topics covered by the local press this week.

Photos of the deceased Soviet leader and his successor were covered on the front pages of all the local dailies.

The bombings in Beirut, the resistance attacks in south Lebanon and the oppressive revenge attacks by the Israeli army were prominently featured and supplemented with photos from international news agencies.

The two-month closure of Bir Zeit University's new campus and the press conference held in Jerusalem to protest it was featured in *Al Fajr*, *Al Sha'ab*, *Al Mithaq*, and *Al Quds*.

Peace Tides

The future of political movements to resolve the Palestinian cause depends largely on the outcome of the talks which will be held tomorrow between Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and his host, US President Ronald Reagan and his senior officials, in addition to King Hussein's visit to Washington, scheduled for next month.

The US position toward the latest developments in the region, particularly the Jordanian-Palestinian accord and Mubarak's peace proposals will determine the direction of the next peace moves.

The Middle East is currently witnessing a stage of basic changes, with tides calling for peace blowing on it. If efforts by all sides seeking a peaceful solution are not united, the future of the peaceful solution will be in doubt.

The American administration must listen carefully to what President Mubarak has to say and give the status quo the importance it deserves.

AL QUDS
March 11

The New Escalation in the Gulf War

The new escalation in the Gulf War, represented by the shelling of populated cities on both sides, involves a danger that may go beyond the area. Despite the efforts of various Arab and Islamic countries to put an end to this war, Iran insists on carrying it on. Iran's attitude runs

counter to the desire of the international community, but it is compatible with the will of the American administration that seeks to exhaust the resources of both countries. Yasir Arafat, was very clear when he stated that putting an end to the Gulf war represents one of the "seven keys" for a just and comprehensive solution in the area. Iran is required now, before it is too late, to seriously consider the situation it has reached and the possible disaster that may befall the whole area if the war goes on.

AL FAJR
March 11

South Lebanon

When the government of Shimon Peres declared its plan for withdrawal from south Lebanon, the Israeli people almost believed it. There was clearly an Israeli desire to expedite the withdrawal and start the second stage of it as soon as possible.

But the situation has changed. The Israeli forces used the "iron fist" policy while withdrawing. The Lebanese National Resistance escalated into a violent confrontation with the Israeli forces.

The Israeli public may be the only one astonished by this turn of events. The Israelis thought that the withdrawal would relieve them of the nightmare. But observers expected what is going on now.

The Israeli plan was vague

and not clearly defined. The only solution is an immediate and rapid Israeli withdrawal. If the Peres government chooses to carry out the withdrawal at the same pace according to schedule, things might get out of hand.

AL FAJR
March 12

Between Chernenko and Gorbachov

The death of the Soviet leader did not come as a surprise. He is the third leader to pass away during the last three years. Chernenko may be the last Soviet leader to assume leadership in old age. His successor is much younger and more vigorous.

On another level the Soviet-Arab relations as well as the Soviet attitude toward Arab causes may continue changed. Moreover, the last few weeks under Chernenko witnessed a thaw in East-West relations. The American-Soviet dialogue has started on many issues, including the Middle East problem.

Gorbachev left a good impression on the West that he is capable of removing tension and threats to world peace. What is important is that Soviet stands toward Arab causes remain unchanged so that a just peace in the area may be achieved.

AL QUDS
March 12

Olive Trees Planted in Honor of Abu Ali

Over 200 Arabs and Jews planted olive trees March 9 on open land near the Jewish moshav Atzerit on the remains of the Palestinian village of Bahset, birthplace of Abd al-Aziz Shahin (Abu Ali). A prominent Palestinian leader in Fatah, Abu Ali was deported to Lebanon February 17. The planting ceremony was violently opposed by the moshav members, who tried to uproot many of the young saplings.

The Abu Ali Shahin Defence Committee organized the tree-planting ceremony, which was attended by Bir Zeit University students, activists from al-Nahda movement in the village of Talbeh in the Triangle, and Marxists from Matzpen Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

Soon after volunteers arrived laden with seedlings and containers of water, members of the nearby moshav came to find out what was going on. While the moshavim argued with some of the Jewish organizers, the rest of the volunteers kept on planting trees. Correspondents from the Israeli dailies *HaAretz* and *Davar* were beaten up by moshav members who mistook them for volunteers helping out in the cere-

mony. Many of the seedlings were planted under cactus trees to avoid having them uprooted later.

The head of moshav Atzerit also arrived on the scene and urged moshav members to put a halt to the tree planting somehow. According to Mansour, the moshav leader termed the tree planting "as dangerous as the Savoy operation [a Palestinian raid on the Savoy Hotel in Tel Aviv in 1975]." Both operations are aimed at proving their identity, he is reported to have said.

Violent scuffles broke out and the police and border guards arrived at the scene. Lawyer Lea Tsemel and the *Davar* correspondent Eitan Mor were taken to the police station but were later released.

Before leaving the area, the volunteers asked a sympathetic moshav member to make sure that at least two olive trees stayed rooted even if he had to replant them in her own backyard. The two trees were planted in the name of Abu Ali Shahin and his wife, Thuria.

A statement issued by the Committee to Defend Abu Ali Shahin and published in three

languages (Arabic, Hebrew and English) upheld the right of Abu Ali and all Palestinians "to live in their homes. Their right to live here is no less valid than the right of Israelis." The statement noted that the Israelis had decided to expel Abu Ali on the charge that he had "infiltrated from Jordan." The statement questioned: "Where did he come to Jordan from? How and from where did he previously come to Gaza? Is it possible that he infiltrated previously from the same place where four million Abu Ais came from?"

Faisal Hussein, head of the committee, was unable to attend the tree planting ceremony because he is under town arrest, which obligates him to remain in Jerusalem during the day and at home at night. Abd al-Aziz Shahin was born in Bahset in 1943. He served 15 years in Israeli prisons. Shortly after his release in 1982, he was banished to the tiny Beduin town of Dahniyeh near the Egyptian border. On February 17, 1985 Israel expelled Shahin shortly after the Israeli High Court ruled that deportation was permissible in his case.

and glass windows are known.

The clash between UNRWA administration and students arose following the demand to establish a student council, a right which is recognised and exercised in all higher education institutions in the West Bank and Gaza, including many other UNRWA institutions. The UN agency's administration staunchly opposed the proposal on the pretext that student elections would be entirely on a political basis. An UNRWA statement released March 13 charged that such a council "violates the independence and impartiality of a UN organisation." The statement concluded, "UNRWA cannot permit political activities on UNRWA premises."

Students, on the other hand, deny that their move was political and insist that their proposal is based on the principle of the right of assembly. Students also point out that in every other higher education centre or

vocational training centre there are councils which address student affairs. West Bank UNRWA facilities, which operate under a separate agency bureaucracy, have functioning student councils.

In their statements, students described UNRWA's attitude as arbitrary and unjustified. They also called on the administration to acknowledge the students' will to establish a council, reopen the centre, and reinstate all suspended teachers and students.

Similar confrontations, but on smaller scale, occurred between students and UNRWA administration last year when students made the same demands. The confrontation resulted in the suspension of four students who were also questioned by police on their political activities. At the time, students charged that the UNRWA administration had supplied police with information.

the merits of our needs," said the Egyptian source who talked on condition that he would not be quoted by name. Egypt, he said, has a very difficult economic situation and President Mubarak will address this situation during his visit.

The other issue which will be discussed by the visiting Egyptian president is the manner in which Egypt disposes of its American aid. While Israel receives the aid no strings attached, there are, as confirmed by American government sources, 120 individuals in the American Embassy in Cairo employed in order to oversee how and where the aid is being used. The Egyptian source denied that this problem exists, or that it ever existed, while Mr. Austrian of the State Department admitted it, adding in this regard, "We are going to go whichever direction the Egyptian government wants us to go, basically," blaming this problem on the lack of Egyptian familiarity with procurement. The Taba issue will also figure in the talks, both the American official and

the Egyptian said, both hoping that it will be resolved through negotiations as called for by the Israel-Egyptian peace treaty.

An issue certain to be brought up by the American officials is the return of the Egyptian ambassador to Tel Aviv, who was recalled after the massacre at Sabra and Shatila in 1982. The US, Mr. Austrian continued, "Always said that it would be a useful" thing to send the ambassador back to Tel Aviv, and so wishes Israel. The Egyptian position, on the other hand, is that Israel has to withdraw its troops from Lebanon, to improve the quality of life for Palestinians in the territories, and vacate Taba before Egypt sends back its ambassador to Tel Aviv. With Israel beginning to withdraw its forces from Lebanon, one-third is almost achieved, said Mr. Austrian, adding that there is also improvement in conditions of the quality of life for Palestinians and that talks are underway about Taba, concluding that the time may be near when the Egyptian ambassador will be returning to Cairo.

Citizen's Rights Movement Meets WB Palestinians

In West Jerusalem March 9 over 50 activists from the Israeli Citizen's Rights Movement (CRM) heard five Palestinian personalities speak about the situation in the occupied territories and their views on recent diplomatic moves in the Middle East.

Speakers at the meeting held in the Eli Geva Hall included deposed Hebron acting Mayor Mustafa Natshe, journalist Ziad Abu Ziad, Gaza lawyer Zuhair Rayyes, Bir Zeit professor Sari Nusseibeh, and *Al Fajr* Editor-in-Chief Hanna Siniora.

Mustafa Natshe gave the keynote speech entitled, "How Can the Quality of Life in the Occupied Territories be Improved?" Natshe told the Israeli audience: "Development is no substitute for political freedom, the right of self-determination and independence."

Natshe said that if there is indeed good will to improve conditions of life, a number of constraints that hinder development must be removed, particularly for the public sector, elected municipalities, agriculture and water resources, credit, housing projects, marketing and external aid. He said the Israeli military government—the *de facto* public sector—has not had a development budget for the Arab population since 1981. "Furthermore, the operating budget in 1983 was US\$25 million" compared to the budget for public services in Israel proper, which was US\$7 billion, and a West Bank Jewish settlement budget up to now of US\$600 million.

Ziad Abu Ziad, a Jerusalem journalist and lawyer, spoke about the general political situa-

tion. He reviewed PLO leaders' moves and statements since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Abu Ziad concluded that Palestinians are serious about entering political negotiations based on a two state solution.

Hanna Siniora called on Israelis to treat the PLO as human beings and called on Israelis supportive of Palestinian rights not only to "talk but to act." Siniora asked the CRM activists to work on cancelling the 1945 British Emergency regulations, which give military commanders in the area wide-ranging powers to curtail freedom of movement and expression. He also called on Israeli activists to fight jointly with Palestinians against oppressive acts like the closure of Bir Zeit University and other forms of collective punishment.

In response to questions, Professor Sari Nusseibeh spoke about the circumstances surrounding the latest closure of Bir Zeit University. Advocate Zuhair Rayyes from Gaza told the Israeli group: "When a Palestinian-Israeli understanding is reached and mutual recognition exchanged, then the Charter will be amended." Rayyes also stressed that "only the PLO leadership can make such a decision. We cannot make it because we live under occupation," he said.

MK Mordechai Bar On, Dedi Zucker and Lisa Blum, all active members of CRM, spoke about the need to strengthen the peace camp in Israel and vowed to continue hearing about the Palestinian problem from Palestinians themselves and not from Jewish orientalists.

UNRWA

continued from page 3

dents out by force, using tear gas and clubs.

UNRWA, however, claimed that students broke into the field office compound and destroyed some of the office furniture, in addition to smashing glass windows. The press statement, signed by UNRWA's Gaza field director Peter Hawkins, did not mention that Israeli troops and police were summoned to quell the protest.

Later, students reported, a number of youths were summoned to Israeli police headquarters where they were questioned on their role in the demonstration, and 50 students were suspended by the agency's administration. UNRWA threatened to dismiss more students once those who destroyed furniture

Mubarak

continued from page 5

Egypt is receiving US\$2.1 billion in grants from the US, and the same amount is being requested by the Reagan administration for fiscal year 1986. President Mubarak, it is believed, will be seeking an increase in that aid. "There is an informal parity" between Egypt and Israel when it comes to US aid, said Mr. Austrian of the State Department, and whenever Israel's allotment is increased, so Egypt believes its part should similarly be increased. Though Israel will receive US\$400 million more in military assistance for fiscal year 1986, Austrian said, "I don't know what the final figures will be" for Egypt because Congress is yet to act on the president's proposed budget for next year. Given the budgetary constraints under which the US is operating, he continued, it is not clear how Congress will react to the Foreign Aid Programme. "We are requesting aid on

Calendar

March 21

March 15, 16, 17

Exhibition: sponsored by The Working Women's Committee in Nabulus.

March 15, 16

Drama: "Festival," presented by Sanabel Theatre, at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem, 6:00 pm. Tickets IS1000. (Arabic)

Film: "City on the Shore," a documentary film about Jaffa, directed by Ali Nassar, at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, 5:00 pm. (Arabic)

AL FAJR staff congratulate colleague Said al-Ghazali and wife Sana' on the occasion of the birth of their daughter, Amani March 12, 1985

William Quandt, member of President Carter's National Security Council on the Middle East, briefing the foreign press upon his return from a tour to the Middle East region, said that President Mubarak's visit to Washington will be an important one. It may, in fact, be more important than the visit of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, he said, due to the information that is becoming available about the Amman Palestinian-Jordanian formula for negotiations. Although President Mubarak may get part of the increased assistance he is seeking for Egypt, experts believe it will not be out of line for Congress to demand that Egypt do more to accommodate Israel. President Mubarak once told CBS' "Face the Nation" that "it would be a grave mistake" for Congress to tie the aid to anything. Observers also believe that it will be out of the question for the US to change its stand on the Middle East issue, which is unquestionably favourable to Israel while at the same time refusing to accept minimum Palestinian and Arab demands.

WEEKLY REVIEW

March 5, 1985

CAR SET AFIRE

HEBRON — Arsonists set fire to the car of the head of Hebron University, Dr Khalki Khanfar. The car was heavily damaged before neighbours were able to extinguish the blaze.

An anonymous caller told local newspaper offices last night that the "Red Fingers" gang was responsible for the arson. The caller gave no further details.

March 6, 1985

ISLAMIC U. CLOSED FOLLOWING VIOLENT SCUFFLE

GAZA — The University Board of Trustees at the Islamic University in Gaza held an emergency meeting and decided to suspend classes at the university until March 13, following campus clashes Tuesday between rival student factions. Ten students were injured in the fight.

The Students Youth Movement at Islamic University accused "the gangs of the Islamic Association in Gaza" of attacking university students and beating them up with clubs, swords and daggers.

"These suspicious gangs dragged a number of students from their classrooms and struck them with iron chairs and knives, wounding more than 20 students," their statement charged.

"These are the activities of the so-called Islamic Association in Gaza, and these are their gifts to our people."

Several other statements published by local unions, federations, associations and committees strongly denounced the events that took place at the Islamic University on Tuesday.

HEBRON DOCTOR DISMISSED

HEBRON — Israeli authorities notified Doctor Abd al-Rahim Musbah al-Namurah of Hebron that he has been dismissed from his job at the Princess Al-Hussein Hospital in Hebron for "security reasons."

Dr Namurah, who was head of the maternity section at the hospital and deputy director for several years, was accused of giving medical services to resistance fighter Ali Rabat. Rabat was sentenced two days ago to 15 years' imprisonment.

The authorities previously arrested Dr Namurah and sentenced him to two months in prison and a \$3 million fine.

PNC MEMBERS, LOCALS PETITION AGAINST AMMAN AGREEMENT

AMMAN — In Amman 34 members of the Palestine National Council (PNC) issued a statement rejecting the Arafat-Hussein accord and calling for adherence to past PNC resolutions.

"The Amman Agreement exposes the Palestinian cause to extreme dangers and deepens schisms in the Palestinian arena," the statement said.

Hundreds of petitions condemning the Amman agreement and Mubarak initiative are currently being signed in the occupied territories. The petitions call for unifying all efforts to reunite the PLO, enhancing the alliance's relations with international and Arab nationalist and friendly forces to thwart the Arafat-Hussein accord and all reactionary movements trying to widen the Camp David circle.

4 HOMES DESTROYED

HEBRON — Four Arab houses in the Hebron district were demolished by the Israeli authorities. A spokesperson for the Israeli Civil Administration said the four homes were levelled because they were constructed without Israeli-issued licences.

UNRWA STUDENTS STRIKE FOR REPRESENTATION

GAZA — Students of the Vocational Training Centre in Gaza threw stones at the UNRWA offices in the city and shattered all of its windows.

The students have been on strike for three days demanding the UNRWA officials allow them to form a student council.

March 8, 1985

BETHLEHEM BOMB DETONATED

BETHLEHEM — Israeli sappers dismantled a big bomb found near Rachel's Tomb in the city of Bethlehem. No injuries were reported.

CURFEW ON SA'IR LIFTED

SA'IR — The Israeli lifted a three-day curfew imposed on the village of Sa'ir in the Hebron district after an army patrol was attacked with a hand grenade March 5.

As soon as the curfew was



Palestinian dresses displayed at the Women's Work Committee's annual exhibit in Jerusalem on the occasion of International Women's Day./AO photo

lifted, a medical team from the Hebron Red Crescent Association headed for the village and treated about 200 children and 100 women and elderly.

HAKAWATI ON TOUR

PARIS — The Hakawati Theatre Group left for France March 7 to perform their play *Ali the Galilean* in Paris March 13.

MARCH 8 IN NAZARETH

NAZARETH — Dozens of Arab women from the upper Galilee region demonstrated in Nazareth to demand Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The demonstration was organised on the occasion of International Women's Day.

PRESIDENT-IN-ABSENTIA CONDEMNS BZU CLOSURE

AMMAN — Dr Hanna Nasser, deported president of Bir Zeit University, has denounced the Israeli decision to close the new campus of the university for 60 days.

"This is the tenth time Bir Zeit is ordered closed by the authorities," Nasser said in an interview published in Amman yesterday. "The closure is a violation of academic freedom and international law."

ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY TEACHER JAILED

GAZA — The Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Islamic

chains and clubs by suspicious elements in al-Brej camp in the Gaza Strip.

Al-Saftawi, who works as director of an UNRWA school, was seriously wounded in the head, face and neck. He was rushed to al-Shifa Hospital in Gaza for surgery.

March 11, 1985

2 BUSES FIREBOMBED NEAR DURA

Two petrol bombs were thrown at two Israeli buses that had come to take Arab workers from the village of Dura in the Hebron district.

Large numbers of Israeli troops and border police rushed to the scene, sealed off the area, and detained dozens of people for questioning.

13 SHOPS SHUT DOWN

NABLUS — Israeli authorities closed 13 shops in the Nablus commercial centre for 24 hours and imposed a two-hour curfew on Faisal Street after a security force patrol was reportedly attacked with stones. The shop-owners were detained for questioning.

BOMB EXPLODES IN EGGED BUS

A bomb exploded in an Israeli Egged bus on its way from Ashdod to Rehovot. No injuries were reported.

Israel Radio said the driver found the bomb before it exploded and asked the passengers to disembark. The bomb exploded before the police sapper arrived.

Dozens of Arabs were rounded up for interrogation.

NEW SETTLEMENT IN GAZA

Israeli bulldozers began preparing a 20-dunum plot of land to the east of the Gaza coast in preparation for establishing a new settlement.



Mohammed Abd al-Razek al-Ashkar is currently being treated at al-Makassed Hospital in Jerusalem after being released from Israeli prisons.

Al-Ashkar had spent two years in Gaza and Ramle prisons without being brought to trial. During this time he caught various diseases and has undergone surgery in his left leg.

March 10, 1985

7 SHOPS CLOSED IN NABLUS

NABLUS — Israeli military authorities yesterday ordered seven shops in the centre of Nablus closed down after a military vehicle was stoned in the city.

University lecturer Dr Abdullah Ayadeh Abu Samhadaneh of Rafah to four years in prison and three years suspended on security charges.

UNRWA SCHOOL DIRECTOR ASSAULTED

GAZA — Assad al-Saftawi of Gaza was attacked with daggers,



Press conference on the two-month closure of Bir Zeit University's main campus March 13, 1985. Right to left: PR director Albert Alghazarian, Acting President Dr Gabi Baramki, lawyer Raja Shehadeh/AO photo

NABLUS RESIDENTS BANNED FROM TRAVEL

Israeli authorities at Dama Bridge banned Nablus residents from crossing the bridge to Jordan yesterday. The ban applied to all those who arrived after 10:00 am.

PRISONER GETS LIFE SENTENCE

The Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Palestinian prisoner Fayer Abu Dakeh to life imprisonment on charges of killing another prisoner whom he suspected of collaborating with the authorities. Abu Dakeh was already serving an 11-year prison sentence on security charges.

AL-A'ARAJ RECEIVES AMERICAN DELEGATION

Belt Jala Mayor Farah A'araj received a delegation of American journalists and briefed its 20 members on the situation in the occupied territories and the Palestinian-Jordanian accord.

Missing Persons

continued from page 6

On November 1 there was a new demonstration by the relatives of the missing which ended with a sit-in in West Beirut.

On November 6, following a meeting of the four-party military commission, the Amal movement and the Lebanese Forces carried out a mini-exchange of prisoners.

On November 25, 15 people held by Amal and the Lebanese Forces were

UNRWA DISMISSES 55 EMPLOYEES

UNRWA has dismissed 55 teachers and trainers from the Professional Training Centre, effective February 10.

The UNRWA administration said the reason for the dismissal was the failure of the 55 teachers and trainers to report the names of students who attacked the UNRWA offices in Gaza last Wednesday.

The students were protesting against UNRWA's refusal to allow them to form their own student council.

JENIN RESIDENT JAILED

JENIN — The Nablus military court yesterday sentenced Nidal Saleh Abu Ghalyun of Jenin camp to four months in prison and eight months suspended on security charges.

3 RAFAH BROTHERS FINED

RAFAH — Three brothers from Rafah were sentenced to heavy fines by the Gaza military court on charges of demonstrating.

Suleiman and Atweh Yousef Abu Samhadaneh were both sentenced to a fine of 1500,000 while their brother, Mousa, was sentenced to a fine of 15200,000.

released during the night, some hours before the redeployment of the Lebanese army in the capital. This operation was carried out as part of the work of the four-party commission.

On November 27, relatives of missing persons demonstrated and declared their hope that "the application of this new security plan in Beirut will lead to the release of all those abducted."

On November 29 there was another demonstration in West Beirut by the relatives of the missing, and another meeting with Prime Minister Karamneh, who promised to obtain some interviews with President Gemayel and with the Syrian vice-president, Abd al-Halim Khaddam.

2 MEMBERS APPOINTED TO JENIN COUNCIL

JENIN — Israeli authorities have appointed two new members to the Jenin municipal council. The two are Mohammed Mahmoud Bakhtian, principal of Hattin elementary school, and Mueleh Abd al-Rahim al-Qadah, principal of the Jenin elementary school.

Kawkab Villager Believed Kidnapped by Israelis

A 34-year-old Palestinian resident of Kawkab village in lower Galilee was reported missing February 25 from the same spot where another resident of Sakhnin, a neighbouring village, was abducted in March of last year.

Tawfiq (Ahmad) Abd al-Hamid Mohammed, a father of four, was returning home from his job at the Egged bus station in nearby Haifa. He disappeared soon after he got out of a taxi at the intersection of Sakhnin and Kawkab, near a police station. Residents of the village, population 2000, fear that Mohammed was kidnapped by Jewish zealots, as was the case in last year's abduction.

Abd al-Hakim Khalileh, 21, was kidnapped at the same intersection last year by four people he described as Jews. He fought his abductors and was able to

escape in a forest 10 kilometres away, where the four had begun to beat him. Khalileh ran all the way back to his village and arrived in reportedly very bad condition, unable to speak for three days. The police said Khalileh was psychologically disturbed and therefore refused to believe his story. He was then placed in a mental hospital. Local residents accused the police of covering up the affair and insisted that Khalileh never had any mental problems.

Kawkab residents also charge that the police are not showing concern over the recent disappearance of Mohammed. They say police sent a token force to look for him only after he had been missing for three days. When Jews are reported missing, they told *Al Fajr*, the whole country is immediately

2 NABLUS MEN JAILED

The Nablus military court sentenced Ali Omar Kalboneh to one year in prison and one year suspended and Khader Hemeidan to six months in prison and one year suspended on charges of throwing stones at Israeli vehicles.

VILLAGER'S CAR TORCHED

ANABTA — Arsonists set fire to the car of resident Tarek Abd al-Karim of Anabta village. The blaze severely damaged the car. Abd al-Karim is a teacher at a local school.

March 12, 1985

2 GAZA MEN JAILED

The Gaza military court yesterday sentenced Adel al-Asar of Gaza to one year in prison and two years suspended on security charges.

Another Gaza youth, Abd al-Rahim Rabah Ubaid, 23, was sentenced to four months in prison and eight months suspended on charges of attempting to buy weapons.

Settlers Celebrate Purim in Hebron

More than 50 Israelis from the Gush Emunim movement staged a provocative march in Hebron March 7 to celebrate the Jewish holiday *Purim*. Hebron residents reported that settlers led by Kiryat Arba leader Rabbi Moshe Levinger marched through al-Shaleh, Bab al-Zawiyyah and Bir Saba' Streets in central Hebron, blocking traffic. Some residents said they feared the armed settlers might attack Arab residents.

For more than an hour and a-half the settlers sang Hebrew songs and danced in the streets. *Al Quds* Arabic daily

said Israeli troops who were on patrol in the city stood watching and did not intervene to stop the settlers.

Jewish settlers from the nuclei settlement in Hebron and from the neighbouring Kiryat Arba settlement have repeatedly vandalised Arab property and demonstrated in the city during the past few years. They have tried to enhance Jewish settlement in Hebron by taking over Arab property. The more than 200 settlers who currently live in Hebron have recently been trying to expand another nucleus settlement established in 1984 at Tel Rumeida.

mobilised to search for them. But if the person missing is an Arab, no one cares, they complained.

Residents of Kawkab and nearby Sakhnin and Kaboul organised searches for Mohammed. They were later joined by students and residents of other Arab villages in the lower Galilee, but no clue of his whereabouts has yet been found.

Both last year's abduction and this year's disappearance occurred a few weeks before the annual celebration of Land Day, March 30. Palestinians within the "green line" and in the occupied territories have observed Land Day every March 31 since 1976 with demonstrations and other activities to stress their attachment to their land and their opposition to the Israeli practice of land confiscation.

commission.

During the night of December 25-26, Mrs Hamade, a widow and mother of a 13-year-old child, Ali, who had been "missing" since March 27, 1984, committed suicide.

On December 27 the Committee of the Relatives of the abducted and all the families of abducted people blocked the access roads between West and East Beirut for more than six days.

(From the Paris-based International Centre for Information on Palestinian and Lebanese Prisoners, Deportees and Missing Persons — newsletter, January 1985.)

Writer Usama Khalid traces the main stages of the struggle of Palestinian women for the national cause in this second of a two-part series begun in last week's *Al Fajr*. This article, which appeared in 1984, is reprinted from *Al Hadaf* Arabic weekly.

A Palestinian History of Woman's Struggle



Rafah women transfer their houses' stones into another house to build /Pop photo.

by Usama Khalid

Part II

Women in the Social Realm

continued from last week

With regard to the social field, Palestinian women initiated the formation of national committees, societies, and unions, whose main functions were charitable in nature. The women's organisations aided the children of martyrs, set up projects, and devoted the income to the needs of national struggle. This is in addition to offering literacy and health care courses as well as knitting and sewing workshops for detainees and the children of martyrs.

Given the poor economic situation created by the occupation, which destroyed the traditional economic structure of Palestinian society, the Palestinian woman was forced to work in Israeli factories in addition to other fields which demand education, such as secretarial work and teaching.

Despite all that she has done, the scope of the woman's participation in the different forms of struggle was narrow compared with her energies and capabilities, which were hampered by the restrictions imposed by family and society.

The Second Stage

This stage is characterised by the following:

1. *Comprehensiveness:* Women's activities extend to all forms of struggle, namely political, ideological, economic, cultural and military. Her struggle is strongly bound with the popular movement and the general struggle of the people.

2. *The expansion of her struggle:* Her struggle involves large numbers of women in different fields, particularly within the Palestinian areas occupied in 1948, thus allowing her to make qualitative steps towards her consciousness-raising in regards to her cause with its national and social aspects.

3. *The transfer of the leadership of this struggle from the traditional women's leadership — or "the national*

bourgeoisie" — to the hands of the educated revolutionaries and working women as well as some other sectors of the petit bourgeoisie.

4. *The self-initiative of the woman in daily struggle after being bound during times of crisis and wars and by poor economic conditions.*

5. *The greater participation in the struggle by Palestinian women in the areas occupied in 1948 and the inter-relationship of their struggle with the general struggle of women. There is also greater participation of Palestinian village women, considering they are the most hurt by the plans of the occupation, including land confiscation and the building of Jewish settlements.*

6. *The greater concern which leftist Palestinian organisations gave to the issue of women and their liberation. The organisations also adopted many of her problems and concerns in an attempt to help solve them.*

Some of the most outstanding activities of Palestinian women inside the occupied homeland have occurred in this stage. Palestinian women have worked in the political arena by participating effectively in political consciousness-raising, in organisation and in agitation. She has become aware more than any time before that her conscious contribution to the struggle cannot be achieved without belonging to a revolutionary organisation. On this basis she has hurried to join the revolutionary democratic parties and factions operating in the Palestinian arena, with full consciousness and conviction. She has also formed women's organisations which connected the social struggle with the national struggle. Among these women's organisations are the voluntary work committees, the Palestinian prisoners relief committees, the land defence committees, the unions, the institutions, the social committees, the charitable societies and the student councils and associations.

Palestinian women have played an active and effective role in the mass uprisings which have swept the occupied homeland on all national occasions. She has actively participated in the strikes and sit-ins, and in distributing leaflets. In the course of these activities, a number of women have been killed and wounded as well as hundreds arrested. Women's participation has been broad-based and effective in the demonstrations on Land Day. In 1976 when Israeli forces attempted to break the strike declared by the Regional Committee for the Defence of Lands in the Galilee and

the Triangle, hundreds of women stood side-by-side with the men to confront the Israeli attempt. As a result, six people fell, including one woman named Khadija Shawahni, from Sakhnin village, many others were wounded and arrested.

Women's participation in the mass marches and demonstrations organised every year in commemoration of Land Day has greatly increased. Also the same thing happens in the demonstrations organised in support of the struggle of Palestinian prisoners and in protest of the repeated aggressions against religious sites and of the Sabra and Shatila massacres. Consequently, a number of women participants have given their lives, such as Lina al-Nabulsi, Muntaha al-Hurani, Taghrid al-Butmeh, Ihsan Abu Draz, Maysoun al-Qastanawi, Aziza Hussein, Ilham Shahberi and others. There were also many wounded. In 1982, 60 women were wounded in the course of one month during the uprisings which broke out in the territory occupied in 1967 and about 150 were arrested. In March 1983, the Zionist authorities carried out a new criminal act by poisoning en masse our Palestinian people, affecting 1200 school girls.

Despite the relative retreat in the area of military struggle resulting from the difficult conditions of the Palestinian revolution outside, women have stood by the masses in military confrontation against the occupation, and she has participated in military operations carried out against occupation forces during this stage. Her activity can be seen in the throwing of bombs, Molotovs and stones at Israeli patrols. This is in addition to her role in securing, storing and transporting weapons between the different military groups despite the restrictions which hamper her movement.

In the economic field over the last 10 years, the percentage of working women has risen to 17 percent. The village women share full responsibility with the men in agricultural work. Also their increased interest in higher education has provided new opportunities for work. Consequently, the percentage of women doctors, engineers, teachers, nurses and secretaries has increased. Women have also opened sewing, embroidery, knitting, pottery, and straw workshops in which they have begun to struggle for equality in pay and rights against exploitation by the Zionist capitalists and the Palestinian bourgeoisie.

This very exploitation motivated her to be more involved in the unions and to form women's unions such as the Palestinian Women's Committee, the Working Women's Committee, the Women's Work Committee and the Women's Committee for Social Action. We rarely find a society, institution or union without meeting a woman in the forefront.

In the field of social action the Palestinian woman has also achieved some important victories and contributed much to changing some of the reactionary social habits and traditions such as removal of the veil, demanding her right to choose her own husband, discarding some of the family restrictions, etc. Also she has been active in voluntary work and in establishing different cultural and social institutions such as sports clubs and scout troupes. She has organised summer camps and trips to reinforce the spirit of cooperation among the sons and daughters of the homeland. In the framework of this field, many kindergartens have been opened in order to alleviate the concern of childcare for working mothers. Hundreds of literacy courses have been organised for women in the occupied territories in the last 10 years. This is in addition to the symposia organised from time to time about the status of women in society. The children of detainees have been given special care by the women's organisations in the occupied territories. Special care centres were opened for this purpose to help alleviate the suffering of women who are mothers or wives of prisoners or martyrs.

A basic role has been played by Palestinian women in raising the cultural consciousness of the Palestinian people in general, especially with regards to the preservation of Palestinian national culture and heritage, which is in danger of being obliterated or stolen by the Zionist enemy who tries to attribute this heritage to himself for the purpose of proving his "right" to be in Palestine. Therefore, the Palestinian women have preserved Palestinian folklore and popular heritage by setting up committees for this particular purpose, particularly in the craft areas of embroidery, popular dresses, straw art, wood carving, pottery, sewing, books about popular dresses, clothes and art. She has entered the fields of literature and art, reflected in her involvement in theatre and song troupes and in the setting up of public libraries, as well as writing poetry and novels. ■